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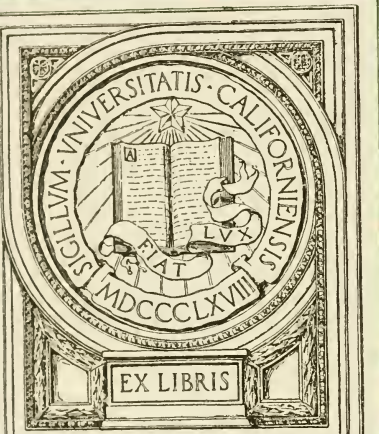
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THE SUFFRAGIST AROUSING HER SISTERS.

By Ella Buchanan, Sculptress.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S LIBRARY

A Systematic Course of Reading in Preparation for the Larger Citizenship

Editor

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Woman Suffrage

PART I

A World Review of Woman Suffrage

By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

WHEN or where the woman suffrage movement began is difficult to say. It is doubtless as old as the man suffrage movement, for in primitive society, in separated and distant parts of the world, tribes of unrelated races have had a simple form of democracy in which men and women each had an important, and in some cases an equal voice in tribal affairs. Plato is usually credited with being the first prophet of the time to come when men and women would unite in forming a government based upon "the will of the people." Here and there, through the centuries intervening since that day, a solitary figure has arisen to repeat these views to a shocked and contemptuous world.

In the struggle upward toward political freedom, men had to overcome the powerful influence of the universally believed "Divine Right of Kings" and Class to rule; women met the same opposition men

encountered, and in addition the universally believed doctrine of the Divine Right of Men to rule over women. Before the Christian Era began, war, with its accompaniment of enslaved women and polygamy, had combined to reduce the women of the nations then leading the world's civilization to a position of abject servitude. Sold into wifehood among the richer classes, or into prostitution among the poorer ones, divorced at will, robbed of property or means to accumulate it, ignorant, uneducated, repressed, the fate of the average woman depended solely upon the affection or caprice of father, husband or son. The beauty, coquetry, or wit of women not infrequently won for them a place of honor and importance, but it was well known that the position of even the cleverest might be wrecked at the whim of their male relatives.

During this period women of the Germanic nations enjoyed the freedom which has always been the rule among primitive people who are advancing. The foremothers of the present-day German women had a voice in the affairs of their people. Tacitus declared that men of these regions proudly admitted that: "In all grave matters we consult our women." In Great Britain and France, similar liberties were the acknowledged rights of women. The conquering arms of the Roman Empire spread the teaching of the subjection of women over all these lands. Buckle says: "Rome's noblest gift to posterity was her vast system of jurisprudence;" yet women were regarded

therein as things not persons. This system formulated at the beginning when women were mere chattels, bought and sold, became the basis of law throughout Europe. It gave way in time to the Napoleonic Code, which did not differ from it in the main and this in turn became the standard for amended laws concerning women in most European countries. This Code was established in the United States of America in all the territory belonging to the Louisiana Purchase. In Great Britain the Roman law evolved into the Common Law, which in turn became the basis of American Law. All of these systems relegated woman to absolute dependence. Before her marriage, her wages, should she be a worker, belonged to her father, and after marriage, to her husband. It was impossible, therefore, for her to accumulate property. Should her relatives bequeath property to her, it became the possession of her husband, who not only administered it, collected the income derived from it, but willed it away at his death. It has often been reiterated that the person who controls the means of subsistence of another, holds the destiny of that other in his complete control. This power over the educational, social, industrial, and political status of women was in the hands of men for thousands of years.

It has been a long and bitter struggle to rescue women from this subjection and to place them in a position where they could command their own battle for emancipation. To this end heroes, as well as

heroines, have stormed the world's citadel of prejudice.

From the 12th to the 15th century, there was an era of enlightenment and European women shared with men some of the opportunities which it opened. Universities in Italy and Spain admitted women students, and several women were members of their faculties. They not infrequently addressed public meetings and some were famed for their remarkable oratorical powers. In France and Spain several distinguished themselves in the practice of medicine and in all these lands learning for women became fashionable among the upper classes. Many women authors and poets appeared whose names are still highly reverenced by their people.

Many of the Mother Superiors of the Convents during this period were renowned for their scholarship, literary talent, and executive ability, as well as their piety and more than one declared rebellion against unacceptable edicts of the Church Powers, and organized winning campaigns against them. The women of the world owe much to the Spartan character and clear vision of many of these religious heroines, who continued lives of self abnegation after the monasteries had become rich and many monks forgetful of their vows.

More dark ages for women succeeded the Renaissance and swept away every liberty women had gained during this period, the Church steeped in superstitious fanaticism using its all-powerful influence to this end.

In 1377 the Faculty of the University of Bologna where women had studied and taught led the way with the following decree: "And whereas woman is the foundation of sin, the weapon of the devil, the cause of man's banishment from Paradise, and whereas for these reasons all association with her is to be diligently avoided:

"Therefore do we interdict and expressly forbid that anyone presume to introduce in the said college any woman whatsoever, however honorable she be. And if anyone should perpetrate such an act, he shall be severely punished."

The Church edicts were numerous during this period, a fact which seems to signify that it was not altogether an easy task to steal the new found liberty from women. Among the avalanches of anathema hurled against them was the following Bull of Pope Innocent 8th in 1487:

"The Holy Chrysostom says: 'What is woman but an enemy of friendship, an unavoidable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable affliction, a constantly flowing source of evil, a wicked work of nature covered with a shiny varnish.' Already had the first woman entered into a sort of compact with the devil; will not then her daughters do it also? Since she was formed of a crooked rib, her entire spirit, her real nature has been distorted and inclined more toward sin than virtue."

During these centuries women were not infrequently reminded by the Pulpit in the words of Tertullian,

"Woman, thou art the gate of Hell." Protestantism made no protest against these views of the earlier Church. Said Luther: "Let woman manage her household, 'tis her lot by nature. That is her place." Said Calvin: "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world (meaning woman) to confound the wise (meaning man) and base things of the world and things that are despised (meaning women) to bring to naught those that are great and of high worth (meaning men)."

Little is heard of women in southern Europe, once the leaders of the world's progress, after this devastating tide of superstition swept over them until the present time. In northern Europe woman, despite law and custom, maintained a remarkable degree of personal independence, and women continually appeared who had distinguished themselves in letters, politics, music, art, and even war.

As the chief barrier to every proposed change in the status of woman, was the idea almost universally held, that her intellect was, by nature, so inferior to that of man that the handicap could never be overcome, each woman who achieved something unusual became an unconscious Liberator of her sex.

During the Middle Ages, one curious relic of ancient liberty remained. In all feudal lands, a form of self government, which attached the franchise to landed estates, became established, and whenever such property fell into the hands of women, as it frequently

did, the vote was exercised by them. Women were still much repressed and opportunities for advanced education were denied them, but as the theory of feudalism held that it was property, and not the individual which was represented, it was no anomaly to permit the voice of woman to be heard. This form of feudal suffrage was largely utilized by women in France, Germany, Bohemia, Austria, and Great Britain.

In France, there were fifty-one fiefs, forty-seven of which were open to women. "The heiress to a fief enjoyed the same rights as a man. She levied armies, coined money, and administered justice. She could attain to the very highest position, take part in the government as regent of the Kingdom, Peeress of France, or Governor of a Province. From the beginning of the States General in 1302, to their disappearance in 1789 women voted like men for the nomination of delegates. They were summoned to the Guilds under the same conditions as men." * The new government resultant upon the Revolution, destroyed these ancient rights of men and women, and in the new distribution of political favors, vastly increased the privileges and authority of men, while robbing women of practically all the advantages they had formerly possessed.

Similar political rights were enjoyed by women in Austria, although apparently not exercised so generally as in France, until 1906, when the property qualifications were removed and universal suffrage for

* "*International Suffrage Report*," 1909.

men in respect to the National Parliament was established. Here again the political discrimination against women was vastly increased with the further extension of suffrage to men.

In Great Britain not only did women exercise a landowner's vote, but through heredity they were eligible to the position of custodian of a castle or sheriff, and in reality such offices were held by women. Among them Annie Clifford, Countess of Dorset (1589-1675) was particularly noted. "She upheld her lawful claim as hereditary Sheriff of Westmoreland against King James I himself, and she defended her castles against the troops of Cromwell." Women in these hereditary positions were liable to be commanded to attend the King in council or camp, with or without their troops, and history records that they were in reality so commanded at times and that they obeyed, commanding their troops with skill. The earlier electors of Great Britain were called Freemen and under similar qualifications Freewomen had equal voting rights.

From Great Britain something of these traditional political privileges came to America. In 1648, Mistress Margaret Brent, attorney for Lord Baltimore and a large landowner, claimed a seat in the Assembly of Maryland. Her qualifications were precisely those of the men members, but the Assembly declared that Freemen, and not Freewomen, were the only voters of the Province. Governor Greene refused to give her a seat, whereupon she protested against all the proceedings

of the Assembly. The same Assembly expressed its thanks to her for her great services in Ingle's rebellion and made the following remarkable report to Lord Baltimore: "As for Mistress Brent's undertaking and meddling with your Lordship's estate here, we do verily believe and in conscience report, that it were better for the Colony's safety, at that time in her hands, than in any man's else in the whole Province after your brother's death, for the soldiers would never have treated any other with that civility and respect and though they were even ready several times to run into mutiny, yet she still pacified them till at the last, things were brought to that strait that she must be admitted and declared your Lordship's Attorney by an order of Court (the copy whereof is herewith enclosed), or else all must go to ruin again and then the second mischief had doubtless been far greater than the former." Margaret Brent evidently belonged to the traditionary type of strong minded and independent British women who knew that a voice in government was theirs by hereditary right, but in new America that privilege was denied.

In the early records of New England towns it appears that women attended town meetings, sometimes on account of their own property rights and sometimes as proxies for their husbands. In Nantucket several women's names are conspicuous in the records, one that of Mrs. Mary Starbuck, who often addressed the town meetings. She allayed all prejudice at the begin-

ning of her speeches by invariably prefacing her sage comments by "My husband thinks" so and so. Land in Salem and Plymouth was meted out "to men, widows, and maids" at the beginning, and apparently political representation went with the land. Governor Endicott regarded this plan as a preventive of early marriage and by his own edict after a time, no more land was given to maids.

A woman suffrage movement began in the American Colonies in Revolutionary Days. It was apparently inspired by the new democratic ideals of the times, but its claims were as certainly based upon the old rights with which the Colonists had been familiar in the Old World. In 1778, while the war was still in progress, Hannah Lee Corbin, of Virginia, the sister of Gen. Richard Henry Lee, wrote him protesting against the taxation of women unless they were allowed to vote. He replied that "women already had that right," apparently recognizing the old rights as still in authority in the Colonies.* Women certainly voted in Virginia and in several of the Colonies. New Jersey secured the right to vote to the tax paying women of that State on July second, 1776, and they exercised it until 1807. Washington and Jefferson counted these New Jersey women voters among their constituents. Unfortunately, they offended the party in power, which punished them by taking the privilege away.

* "*History Woman Suffrage,*" Vol. I.

It is interesting to observe that in this same year Mrs. Spencer Stanhope,* of Great Britain, wrote to her son that her husband's party was so certain of success that they had announced that their women folk need not vote. The lady was very wroth at this decision, holding it to be "extraordinary and very hard, considering how few privileges we poor females have. Should it come to a very close struggle, I dare say they will then call upon the ladies, and in that case every self respecting woman should most certainly refuse her assistance." The natural inference is that votes attached to property were still recognized in Great Britain at this date.

The French Revolutionists issued a Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, but it referred only to men. Olympe de Gouges entered a protest with a book the same year, dedicated to the French Queen and called "The Declaration of the Rights of Women." As a result of its teaching a petition was presented, October 28th, 1789, to the National Assembly, signed by Parisian women, demanding votes for women in the election of members of the Assembly.

In 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft, described by chivalrous Horace Walpole as "a hyena in petticoats," published her "Vindication of the Rights of Women," which set all England astir and every drawing room to talking of "women's rights." In 1793, Condorcet, in the French Assembly, made an immortal plea for

*"*Woman Suffrage, 1912*": Mrs. M. G. Fawcett.

woman suffrage which resolved all the intellectual centers of France into debating societies upon the subject. Women organized clubs to further the discussion. The end of this campaign, which was carried on more connectedly and effectively than the earlier one in America, was that the clubs were closed in the same year by the "Committee of Public Safety" because the clubs disturbed the "public peace;" and the French Democrats who had urged their plea of "liberty, equality, and fraternity," made public by so doing that they had overthrown the doctrine of the "Divine Right of Kings," but still upheld the "Divine Right of Men." This action was followed by the establishment of the Napoleonic Code. Napoleon, who hated women of brains, had exiled those most influential, notably Mme. de Staël. The old rights came to an end with the new rights for men, and the woman suffrage movement which came with the Revolution was put into the background where it slumbered for many years before being heard of again.

In 1819 a man suffrage movement arose in Great Britain which reached a crisis at Manchester in what is known as the Peterloo Massacre in August of that year. Women had joined this Reform movement as active participants. "A picture of the Peterloo Massacre, now in the Manchester Reform Club, is dedicated to Henry Hunt, Esq., the Chairman of the meeting and to the Female Reformers of Manchester, and the adjacent towns who were exposed to and

suffered from the wanton and furious attack made on them by that brutal armed force, the Manchester and Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry. The picture represents women in every part of the fray, and certainly taking their share in its horrors." * "On one of the banners carried by the women as depicted in this very old print are plainly printed the words, "Votes for Women."

The Reform Movement came up again in Great Britain in 1832, and ended by the passage of the Reform Act of 1832, which substituted the word "male person" for man and this placed a constitutional disability upon women. By this act a considerable number of men were enfranchised.

Many women in many lands in the first half of the 19th Century contributed much valuable service toward breaking down the wall of prejudice which bound women's sphere. Mary Somerville in acknowledgment of her skill in mathematics and Caroline Herschell who had distinguished herself in astronomy, were elected members of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1835. Elizabeth Fry had revolutionized the prisons of Great Britain and Florence Nightingale the soldiers' camps and hospitals in the Crimean War. In our own country Emma Willard and Mary Lyon opened seminaries for the "advanced education of women." Oberlin College was established in 1833 with open doors for girls, the first college in modern times to admit women. In 1832, Lydia Maria Child

* "*Woman Suffrage, 1892*": Mrs. M. G. Fawcett.

published her "History of Woman," in which she plead for larger freedom for women. In 1836, Abraham Lincoln made his famous declaration in favor of political equality for women: "I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women."

In 1840 Margaret Fuller published her great essay on "Man vs. Women," and in 1845 her "Women of the 19th Century." Women took an increasingly active part in the anti-slavery agitation and had formed local Societies here and there. In 1837, they held a National Convention in New York with seventy-two delegates, believed to be the first representative body of women ever convened. In 1836 a petition was presented to the New York Legislature, asking the removal of the legal disabilities of married women. In 1844 Maine, the first State to take such action, granted married women control of their own property.

These and many other similar events were succeeding each other with great rapidity and preparing the way by their continued agitation of the "women's rights" question as it was called, for the organized demand for the vote.

In 1840 a World's Anti-Slavery Congress was held in London. Several women delegates from the United States were barred out after a stormy debate. Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Nathaniel P. Rogers arriving on a belated ship came too late for the discussion, but as

a protest against the action of the Congress they refused to take their delegate's seats and sat in the gallery with the women. Lucretia Mott, the leading woman delegate, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the bride of a delegate, determined to call a convention upon their return to consider the many discriminations made against women by law and custom. This they did some years later and it was held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Here a Declaration of Women's Independence, belated by half a century was presented and adopted. It was received with the ridicule and contempt with which an ignorant world has ever answered pleas for justice.

In the same year, 1848, Mr. Disraeli, said in the House of Commons: "In a country governed by a woman, where you allow women to form part of the other estate of the realm, peeresses in their own right, for example, where you allow women not only to hold land but to be ladies of the manor and hold legal courts, where a woman by law may be a church warden and overseer of the poor, I do not see, where she has so much to do with the State and Church, on what reason, if you come to right, she has not a right to vote."

The organized demand for woman suffrage dates from 1848, and the momentum of the movement has steadily increased year after year until no civilized country remains which has not felt the force of its influence.

Woman Suffrage in Europe

AUSTRIA. — In 1862, widows and spinsters with property were given a vote by proxy in Austria, an apparent survival of their ancient feudal rights. In 1867 women were forbidden to organize, or to become members of political associations. That law is still operative, although its removal is a much discussed question and the present Parliament (1913) has the matter under consideration. As no regularly constituted woman suffrage association is legally possible, woman suffragists conduct their propaganda work through committees. They must secure the consent of the police for every meeting, and one or more policemen is present to see that the law is not violated.

In *Bohemia,* a province of Austria, which has been permitted to retain its own Diet, women taxpayers in 1861 were especially granted municipal suffrage and eligibility to the Diet. This definite extension of political privilege was evidently founded upon ancient feudal rights. For many years qualified women exercised this franchise but it fell into disuse through the antagonistic attitude of Election Committees. In 1905, an agitation for universal suffrage for men arose and women came forward at the same time to claim their former rights. Men were granted universal suffrage in respect to the Imperial Parliament in 1906 in common with all other men in the Empire, but in Bohemia, as elsewhere, the political rights of women were de-

creased with the increase of political rights for men. With the idea in view that their peculiar campaign could more effectively be conducted within the Diet, women sought the nomination and election of a woman member in 1907 whose eligibility to this position dated from feudal times. At each succeeding election they worked to the same end, with the result that Mrs. Vikova Kunetická was elected to the Diet in 1912. The Imperial Law forbidding women to join political organizations is operative over Bohemia, and creates the anomaly of a woman legislator who is legally forbidden to join her own party organization.

In *Bosnia and Herzogovina* by the new constitution of February, 1910, authorized by the Austrian and Hungarian Empire, four classes of men may qualify to vote. The first is composed of landowners who pay a tax of 140 crowns on their estate, and widows and spinsters were included. The vote is by proxy. At the first election, May, 1910, seventy-eight women voted, seventy-six being Mohammedans, one Servian, one Roman Catholic.

In 1912 the Diet of Lower Austria extended to the women voters of *Wiener-Neustadt* (60,000 inhabitants) and *Waidhofen* (20,000 inhabitants) the right to cast direct votes instead of voting by proxy as before, and the use of the vote was made *compulsory*. The imperial law which forbids women to be members of political societies applies to this section of Austria as elsewhere and the curious anomaly is produced of com-

pelling women to vote, while forbiding them to join any organization existing for the purpose of furthering the cause for which they vote.

In *Galicia,* married women property owners were given a vote in 1866, but as this must be cast by their husbands, an independent opinion was evidently not expected. Widows and unmarried women, however, were given permission to select their proxies and to instruct them how to cast their votes. In 1908 a Political Equality League to further the suffrage rights of women was founded. This society followed the example of the one in Bohemia and put up a woman candidate for the Diet, as eligibility to the legislative assembly was an old hereditary right. Miss Marie Duleba, to the surprise of friends and foes, polled 511 votes.

Hungary enjoys constitutional independence and has its own Parliament. In 1906 a National Woman Suffrage Association was formed and began a campaign to secure the inclusion of women in the struggle toward universal man suffrage. Those who favored an extension of suffrage to men have been divided into universal suffragists and limited suffragists. The women sought endorsement by either or both camps. After a lively and bitter campaign accompanied by considerable "militancy on the part of men," the Government presented a Reform Bill to the Parliament of 1913, endorsing the claims of the limited suffragists and including women. This measure was passed after amendment which excluded women and a considerable

number of men. The Hungarian Woman Suffrage Association has been particularly active, and intelligent in its campaign and many prominent men and women have interested themselves in it.

POLAND.—There has been a feminist movement in Poland for many years, although unorganized until the present time. The tragic struggle of this unhappy land has revealed the fine strong qualities of women whose sacrifices for patriotism have challenged the respect and honor of Polish men. A leader, Mme. Kuczalska-Reinschmidt has been untiring in her efforts for many years and now in her old age a vast sentiment for her cause and great honors for her have come as a reward for her sacrifices.

BELGIUM.—Women employers or employees may vote for members and be eligible to the Counseils des Prudhommes or Courts of Trade, the right having been granted in 1909. A commission, appointed as the result of a national strike in May, 1913, is now sitting (August, 1913) and is considering the demand made by the workingmen of the country for "one man, one vote." The clerical government has openly declared that if it is forced to this act, it will also extend "one woman, one vote."

BULGARIA.—In South Eastern Europe women have heroically aided in the numerous efforts to secure national liberation and have usually demanded of their victorious countrymen some recognition for their services. Bulgaria was granted its autonomy by Turkey

in 1878, but remained tributary to that Power. Large numbers of women were included in the lists of those who labored for freedom and the elevation of the people. Some of these presented a petition to the first Parliament in 1879, asking for the vote, but with no result. The customs before this date were primitive and patriarchal. No code of laws existed, but the new Parliament turned to Belgium and Germany for models and as these nations at that time granted few rights to women, the Bulgarian women now found themselves hemmed about by legal restraints they had never before known. In 1908 Bulgaria declared her independence and the women declared theirs by the formation of a Woman Suffrage Association with the wife of the Prime Minister as president.

DENMARK.—The women of northern Europe always enjoyed social and personal freedom, and although the influence of Roman law swept over those countries, it never succeeded in the entire repression of the women. The Scandinavians as a race are intensely democratic and independent and it is not surprising that man and woman suffrage has made more advanced progress there than in any other part of the Old World. Danish women were given municipal suffrage and eligibility to municipal offices upon the same conditions as men in the year 1908. Unmarried women qualify by the payment of a small tax; married women may qualify upon the taxes by their husbands. In 1910, 127 women were serving as town councillors, 7 of them

being members of the City Council of Copenhagen, the Capital. Upon the recommendation of the King, the Government introduced a parliamentary measure, 1913, to extend the parliamentary vote to women qualified to vote in Municipal elections. After having passed the Lower House, the Parliament was dissolved. New elections were held in May, 1913, and the question is still pending.

FINLAND. — In 1873 widows and unmarried women taxpayers were granted municipal suffrage. The population is composed of Finns and Swedes. In 1905-6 the nation sustained a long and bitter contest against Russia to regain its freedom. Women took an active part in the struggle, fearlessly performing many deeds of danger. In May, 1906, the movement for independence took the form of a national strike and the Czar yielded, a Parliament and universal suffrage for men and women forming the chief Russian concession. An energetic woman's society (Kvinnosaksforbundet Unionem) had educated the public mind to receive the equality of rights of the sexes, and Russian oppression had stimulated national patriotism and love of liberty. When the Czar expressed his doubts as to the advisability of including women in the new grant of liberty, Senator Mechelin who conducted the audience replied: "The opinion of the nation demands it, and there is no reason to fear that women will not use their vote with the same feeling of responsibility as men." Women have served in the Parliament continually in consid-

erable numbers, twenty-six having been chosen at the first election. The benefits of universal suffrage have been largely nullified however, by the later appointment of a Russian Governor-General who possesses the right of a veto and who uses it upon all acts of local interest.

FRANCE. — With the disappearance of their old feudal rights, the enactment of the law forbidding them to organize to secure new rights, and the establishment of the Code Napoleon, there was little opportunity for French women to "foment a rebellion." "If a husband killed his wife for committing adultery, the murder was 'excusable.' On the other hand an illicit mother could not file a paternity suit."* Yet in the Revolution of 1830 and again in that of 1848, many men and women arose to preach the doctrine of an equality of rights for women. George Sand was one of the most conspicuous advocates. The Republic of 1870 was appealed to by an influential group to extend suffrage to women under the new government, but it refused as the National Assembly of 1789 had done. Since 1878 an organized campaign has been conducted, chiefly in Paris to secure the vote and to secure the removal of the many legal disabilities which are put upon French women. A large group of Catholic women work to the same end independently of the others. Its president, Marie Mangeret, made an especial trip to Rome for the purpose of presenting the

* "*The Modern Women's Rights Movement*": Schirmacher.

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

President, International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Catholic women's need for the vote to the Pope and the audience was granted. The suffrage so far gained is the right of women to vote for and be eligible to the Tribunals of Commerce, a kind of Court composed of employers and employees with authority to adjust differences. The *New York Tribune* of August 13, 1913, confirms the report that the Municipal Council of Paris, by unanimous vote, has accorded the municipal vote to women.

GERMANY. — Men of the twenty-five States of the German Empire possess universal suffrage for the Reichstag (Imperial Parliament) although man suffrage is limited in the local election of most of the States. With the growing democratic spirit the old Feudal franchise passed into disfavor and with it the earlier suffrage rights of women. Yet scattered suffrage rights in minor matters for women taxpayers are still in existence, the relics of the old order, rather than achievements of the new. In 1908 a municipal election in Rhineland was declared illegal because the name of a woman voter had been refused by the registrar, and in consequence of a judicial decision, a new election was held. In Silesia, where women landowners still have the right of a proxy vote in the communal election, but where it has not usually been exercised, nearly 2,000 women availed themselves of this ancient privilege in the year 1910 to the general amazement of the German public.

Until May, 1908, an imperial law forbade all German

women to take part in political meetings, with the exception of those of the free cities. A suffrage organization with headquarters in the free City of Hamburg was therefore constituted in 1902 with individual members in all parts of the Empire. Meetings were held in the chief cities with little restriction beyond the necessity of securing police consent for all such assemblies, and the presence of police officers who kept a record of each meeting for police reference. With the removal of the taboo in 1908, the German Woman Suffrage Association was normally constituted and now has branches in all the States. The Prussian Government in 1910 instituted an official investigation into the causes which produced a surplus of female population. As a result all schools for higher education were thrown open to women in order that they might be better prepared to earn their own livelihood, since it was apparent that the surplus was a permanent factor.

GREAT BRITAIN. — In 1850 an Act became law in Great Britain whereby words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed to include females unless the contrary is expressly provided. In 1867 another Reform Bill passed, which substituted the word man for male person, a return to the wording before 1832. As under similar letter of the law women had claimed their ancient voting rights, a large number of women tax payers sought a place upon the voting lists of 1868. This attempt was made in many parts of England and Scotland, over 5,000 women in Manchester alone unit-

ing in the demand. The registrars refused to enter the names of women and a test case was brought into Court. The Judge decided that "although the word man in an Act of Parliament must be held to include women, this did not apply to the privileges granted by the State." In the words of the Report of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, 1869: "This judgment, therefore, established as law that the same words in the same Act of Parliament shall for the purpose of voting apply to men only, but for the purpose of taxation shall include women."

In 1851, an article, which took the form of a review of the proceedings of a Convention of Women hold in Worcester, Massachusetts, the previous year, by Mrs. John Stuart Mill appeared in the *Westminster Review* and presented a strong plea for woman suffrage.

In 1865 John Stuart Mill was elected to Parliament upon a woman suffrage platform. Before 1867 the total number of qualified voters in Great Britain was about one million. The Reform Bill of that year more than doubled the number. John Stuart Mill moved an amendment to this bill conferring the franchise on women possessing the same qualifications as the men under consideration. Seventy-three members voted with him and 196 against. A National Woman Suffrage Society was formed in England in 1867, inspired by the act of Mr. Mill and the unexpected success of his amendment. The testing of the effect of the Reform

Bill upon the political status of women took place in 1868. In 1869 the ancient right of municipal suffrage was restored to tax paying widows and spinsters of England and Wales, the direct result of the agitation in Parliament. In 1870 the British Parliament gave women the right to vote for members of School Boards, and also the right to be elected to School Boards. Many women were elected to these positions at the following election. One Dr. Elizabeth Garrett received 47,000 votes which it was said was the largest number of votes any candidate in England had ever received for any office at that time. Another, Miss Becker, was continuously re-elected and served as a member of the School Board in Manchester until her death in 1890. Another Miss Stevenson served on the School Board of Edinburgh for 32 years, being continuously re-elected. All three of these ladies were woman suffrage leaders and the endorsement of their candidature was regarded as an indication of popular suffrage sentiment.

In 1868 a woman suffrage bill was introduced in the House of Commons and was carried on second reading May, 1870, by 124 to 91, but its further procedure was stopped by the Government.

In 1880, full suffrage was extended to the women of the Isle of Man, which has its own Parliament.

In 1884 another Reform Bill passed the British Parliament which further extended suffrage to men. At the time British Politics was reputed to be exceed-

ingly corrupt and in connection with the Reform Bill, a provision was carried which rendered paid canvassing illegal. The year before a very stringent Corrupt Practices Act had passed. Party managers were in a state of distress over the vexed question as to how campaigns could be conducted. The brillant idea appeared to some of the Tory leaders, that as no money could be paid for the work, it would be appropriate work for women! The Primrose League was formed in consequence and the campaign of its members was so successful that the Tory leaders were delighted, and the Liberal leaders disgusted. The latter expressed their spite by dubbing these women representatives of England's noblest houses "filthy witches." Suddenly their choler was checked by the timely suggestion, that what was good for the Tories might be equally good for the Liberals. The Women's Liberal Federation was formed at once under the presidency of the wife of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gladstone. This, according to Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, in her "Women's Suffrage," is the true story of the reason which led British women to take so active a part in the partisan politics of that Country. Although the majority of the women who entered political life, doubtless had no interest in suffrage at the time, yet the political activity of British women enormously stimulated the growth of the woman suffrage movement. The women of Scotland were given municipal suffrage in 1881 and those of Ireland in 1898.

For some years past the campaign in Great Britain has been recognized as the storm center of the world's movement. The history of woman suffrage in that Country, including as it does, the early hereditary voting rights of women, and an entire century of unceasing effort to recover them, enlivened by many unexpected and remarkable features, will doubtless always be regarded as the most extraordinary of all lands.

From 1867 a National Society called in later years the National Union of Woman's Suffrage Societies conducted a campaign of education and organization. Favorable sentiment had increased to such an extent that in every Parliament after 1885 a majority of members were pledged to the cause. Bills extending the parliamentary vote to women passed second reading in 1897, 1908, 1909, 1910, and 1911, the Government (Prime Minister and his cabinet) preventing them from going forward to further stages. Parliamentary usage permits the Government, to preëmpt as much time for its own measures as it desires, and it has become a favorite and unfailing method of the Government to use this plan to defeat any measure to which it is opposed. It therefore became obvious that the Government would never allow a private member's bill to pass. The aim of the campaign in consequence has been to compel the Government to take up the question. In February, 1907, 3,000 women marched in procession through the streets of London; in October, 1,500 women marched in Edinburgh and during the same month of

the same year 2,000 marched in Manchester. In 1908, 15,000 women marched in procession in London, and in 1911, 40,000 women, making a line four miles long, marched in London. Meetings indoors and out of doors in big halls and small ones have been held in every part of the United Kingdom. Woman suffrage has been made the most talked of question in the Country and its working adherents have enormously increased from year to year.

Town and City Councils to the number of 132 have passed resolutions calling upon the Government and Parliament to extend the parliamentary vote. Among the cities passing such resolutions were Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, New Castle, Brighton and Leeds. The Mayor of Dublin, in his official robes, presented the petition from that City at the Bar of the House of Commons. A woman suffrage committee composed of 50 members of Parliament, with Chairman and Secretary was formed in 1905 for the purpose of pushing the measure. A petition signed by 200 members of Parliament was that year presented to the Prime Minister requesting that a woman suffrage bill be brought in. One of the embarrassing difficulties of the campaign was the difference of opinion, among women suffragists as to what women should be given the vote. A minority favored universal suffrage for men and women, the majority were somewhat divided as to the standard of limitation

which should be fixed. By the year 1910 the Committee composed of Members agreed upon a woman suffrage bill known as the Conciliation Bill and pressed its claims with the result that it passed second reading, but was side-tracked by the Government.

A petition asking that this bill should be made law was signed by 300,000 male voters in January, 1910. The Commonwealth of Australia cabled to the Prime Minister in November, 1910, the following resolution which had passed both Houses of the Federal Parliament: "That this (House, Senate) is of opinion that the extension of the Suffrage to the women of Australia for States and Commonwealth Parliaments, on the same terms as men, has had the most beneficial results. It has led to the more orderly conduct of Elections, and at the last Federal Elections the women's vote in the majority of the States showed a greater proportionate increase than that cast by men. It has given a greater prominence to legislation particularly affecting women and children, although the women have not taken up such questions to the exclusion of others of wider significance. In matters of Defense and Imperial concern, they have proved themselves as far-seeing and discriminating as men. Because the reform has brought nothing but good, though disaster was freely prophesied, we respectfully urge that all Nations enjoying Representative Government would be well advised in granting votes to women," but the Government was obdurate.

Meanwhile the Women's Social and Political Union, under the leadership of Mrs. Pankhurst, had come into existence in 1903. In 1905 it made known its policy, henceforth described as Militant Tactics.

The effect of militancy upon the British campaign will always be a controversial point, inasmuch as several additional elements became involved with it. In the words of its advocates militancy meant that "war had been declared against the government." Before this announcement had been made, a public questioning of a Cabinet Minister took place in Manchester. Such privilege has been the prerogative of British men for Centuries. The women who did the same thing found themselves in prison. The consequent discussion aroused all Great Britain. The "Martyrdom" wrought such sensational changes in sentiment that the tactics begun as an incident were continued as a policy. After much public announcement of their intentions, these women met in great meetings from which deputations were appointed to carry a resolution, or petition to the Prime Minister or the House of Commons. The police were always found waiting to block their way and a crowd to watch proceedings. In the scrimmage which followed many women were certain to be arrested who straightway followed their sisters to Holloway jail. Their most intolerant critics pronounced these women political and not criminal offenders, yet the Government refused to put them in the First Division to which all nations consign political prisoners. In the First

Division prisoners are permitted to wear their own clothes and to have access to books and papers; in the second they wear prison clothes and cannot have books and papers. The offenders grew more numerous and more audacious; the Government responded with longer sentences. Then, in protest, not against imprisonment, but against being put in the Criminal Division, these women prisoners began a "hunger strike" and refused to eat. The Government brought stomach pumps and fed them forcibly. In every case the prisoners were soon in such physical condition that it became evident that a continuation of the treatment would end in death; and the Government released them before the end of their sentence. However severe the criticism of the women became, the punishment meted out to them was so illy fitted to the offense that public opinion which usually condemned the women for each new maneuver, ended by veering around to their side. The courage, determination, activity, initiative, and willingness to seek martyrdom stirred the admiration of large classes of people all over the world and for some years the Militants kept the world talking of woman suffrage as it had never talked before. The British Government contributed to this result quite as much material as the women.

Mr. Asquith stubbornly refused to yield to the continued appeal of the Nation, aroused by the untiring energies of suffragists and suffragettes, but finally promised government facilities for the Conciliation

Bill. This promise he deliberately broke, but made a counter promise that the Government would propose a Reform Bill, which would remove some of the incongruities of the present voting system and at the same time extend the vote to some 200,000 men who had not asked for it. To this bill he promised facilities for a woman suffrage amendment, should one be proposed. All friends of the Government assured the suffragists that Mr. Asquith was a man of his word and that the long expected victory was at hand. The Reform Bill was introduced; the Speaker declared the amendment out of order. Whether Mr. Asquith deliberately connived with the Speaker to evade his promise, or whether it was a turn as unexpected to him as it was to the suffragists, is an open question. At this point the campaign stands.

Hundreds of militant women have suffered prison and torture for the Cause. Misguided they may have been but no one questions their loftiness of purpose, or purity of motive. On the other hand thousands of women out of sympathy with militant methods have pursued their work of education without ceasing. The Independent Labor Party which holds a balance of power in Parliament and which is pledged to universal suffrage for men, has pledged itself that its members will vote against any bill which extends suffrage to any class of men and which excludes women. The Constitutional suffragists will now attempt to replace Liberals by Independent Labor candidates at all by-

elections. The Militants are attempting to compel the Independent Labor Members to enter upon a boycott of Government measures, and are attacking Government property.

In support of their policy they make many citations of the views of influential British politicians. Among them is this: Mr. Randolph Churchill speaking in 1911 about the violent riots in connection with the campaign for man suffrage in 1832 said: "It is true there was rioting in 1832, but the people had no votes then and had very little choice as to the alternatives they should adopt." Why, the Militants say, does the same argument not apply to women?

The comment of Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, the President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies which opposes militant tactics, in her book on "The History of the British Woman Suffrage Movement," in speaking of the Suffragettes says:

"Minor breaches of the law, such as waving flags and making speeches in the lobbies of the Houses of Parliament, were treated more severely than serious crime on the part of men has often been. A sentence of three months' imprisonment as an ordinary offender was passed in one case against a young girl who had done nothing except to decline to be bound over to keep the peace which she was prepared to swear she had not broken. The turning of the hose upon a suffrage prisoner in her cell in a midwinter night, and all the anguish of the hunger strike and forcible feeding are

other examples. All through 1908 and 1909 every possible blunder was committed with regard to the suffrage prisoners. A dead set was made upon law-breakers, real or supposed, who were obscure and unknown; while people with well-known names and of good social position were treated with leniency, and in some cases were allowed to do almost anything without arrest or punishment."

John Bull has shown his tenacious stubbornness through the attitude of the Prime Minister, but to use the phrase of a Japanese writer, the "John Bull-esses" are possessed of the same national character and the end is not difficult to foresee.

GREECE. — No woman suffrage organization exists in Greece and no signs have appeared of any movement in that direction, although individuals have openly espoused the cause. A National Lyceum of Women was lately organized to further the education of women and to uphold the national ideals of Greece. This society has done valiant service to the country by the collection of funds and the organization of relief service for the sick and wounded in the Balkan war. Peace and a settled condition will doubtless reveal a new impetus to movements onward of the rights of men and women.

ICELAND. — Widows and unmarried women, taxpayers or self-supporters, were given municipal suffrage in 1881. In 1902 eligibility to any office for which they had the franchise was granted women. In 1907

married women were granted municipal suffrage and eligibility to municipal offices. In 1908 a new bill granting municipal suffrage to men and women, 25 years of age, who pay a small tax, upon equal terms with men was passed. A bill to extend the parliamentary vote to women on equal terms with men was passed by the Parliament of 1912, but must be ratified by the Parliament of 1913. As all political parties have pledged themselves to it it is expected to pass. The bill must then receive the sanction of the Danish King which will be a mere form.

ITALY. — The movement towards suffrage for women in Italy is not new. Anna Maria Mozzoni, a woman of rare intellect, presented a woman suffrage petition to the Italian Parliament about 1880. Patriotic women in Italy, as always, greatly aided the revolution which established a constitutional government, and the spirit they aroused never died. Unorganized agitation continued the education they began and in 1908 a National Committee was formed in Rome to work definitely for the suffrage. This Committee formed branches in all the chief cities of Italy and under the direction of Countess Giacinta Martini, a woman remarkably endowed with feminine graces, strong character, broad intelligence and constancy of purpose, began political work at once, laboring to elect members of the Lower House of Parliament who were favorable to woman suffrage. They succeeded in several instances in carrying their purposes, but the only

definite suffrage legislation yet attained is the law which extends votes for women in trade for Boards of Trade upon the same terms as men. These Boards form a sort of Court for the adjustment of difficulties arising between employers and employees. Similar bodies exist in France and Belgium.

THE NETHERLANDS. — For some years the revision of the National Constitution has occupied a conspicuous place in Dutch politics. The Liberal parties have favored it; the conservative ones have opposed it. At last the Parliament is attempting to deal with the situation and apparently the constitution will soon be amended. Looking forward to this event Dutch women have agitated the question of equal political rights and have succeeded in making their claim a political issue. In proportion to population, the organization is stronger than in Great Britain or America.

NORWAY. — In 1833, The Storthing (National Parliament), passed a bill granting municipal suffrage to women. The bill was not permitted to become a law, but from that time nearly every session recorded some relief from their legal disabilities granted to women. In 1889 all women who paid a school tax were permitted to vote on all school questions, and women with children, who paid no tax were permitted to vote on all school questions except those involving expenditures. In 1896 the tax paying qualification was reduced for the municipal suffrage of men and a considerable enlargement of the voters' lists was made.

In 1901, municipal suffrage was made universal for men, and was extended to tax paying women. In 1907 municipal suffrage was made universal for woman as it was for men. Tax paying women were granted parliamentary or full suffrage, including eligibility. At the same time parliamentary suffrage was made universal for men. A woman could vote upon taxes paid by herself; or by herself and husband together where there was joint property; or a married woman could vote upon property in her own right. This action was undoubtedly hastened by the Norwegian agitation for National Independence which had drawn the people closer together in their common demand and lifted their ideals to greater heights through the intensity of national feeling engendered by the struggle. The Swedish Government magnanimously granted the separation without recourse to the misfortunes of war.

The women had stood boldly and helpfully by the side of Norwegian men throughout the campaign, and the men were grateful. In 1905, 300,000 adult Norwegian women, an enormous proportion of the total number, petitioned Parliament for the parliamentary vote. The President of the Storthing reported the matter from the chair and the members received it standing, in acknowledgment of their sympathy. In May, 1913, the last tax qualification for women was removed and universal suffrage for women became law. About 250,000 women were enfranchised by the act.

MISS P. C. SING
Captain of six hundred "Amazons," and one of the most eloquent orators in the Chinese Woman Suffrage Movement

Among the benefits of woman suffrage already demonstrated are: (1) A stringent child labor law 1909, forbidding employment of children under 14 years of age and imposing strict conditions for the employment of boys and girls between 14 and 18 years of age. (2) Equal pay for equal work in most government positions, chiefly post and telegraph clerkships, which are largely held by women. Two hundred and ten women were serving as Town Councillors in 1910 and 379 alternates. Of these 9 Councillors and 17 alternates were serving in the City Council of Christiania, the Capital. No woman has been elected to a seat in Parliament, but a woman was elected as alternate in 1910, and in that capacity has occasionally occupied a seat.

PORTUGAL. — The Constitution of the Portuguese Republic does not forbid women to vote. An organization of women designed to further the cause of republicanism, conceived the idea of testing the validity of a woman's vote. Carolina Angelo, a doctor of medicine in 1911 applied for registration as a voter, and when denied, appealed her case to the highest court of Portugal. The judge, Dr. Affonso Costa, sustained her demand and declared that that one woman was vested with full political rights. Dr. Angelo cast her first vote at the next election, with considerable ceremony. Ten women accompanied her, and the men present received her with hospitable applause. The common opinion prevailed at the time that any Portuguese woman could

secure the vote by the same process followed by Dr. Angelo, but that her enfranchisement had not endowed other women with a vote. The President and several members of the Cabinet announced themselves favorable to parliamentary action and the women workers are confident of ultimate victory for their cause. The movement met with the tragic misfortune of sudden death by heart failure of Dr. Angelo, but others have come forward to take her place and the organization is gaining strength steadily. Definite Parliamentary action is still pending in 1913.

ROUMANIA. — In 1910 a treatise on "Women in Roumania" from the pen of Mr. Stourdza appeared. He severely condemned the general code of law modeled on the Code Napoleon under which Roumanian women were living. A widespread interest was aroused, and this focused in 1911 in the formation of a committee to work for the removal of these ancient laws and for the suffrage. In 1913, this Committee was formally organized into a National Association. A paper in behalf of the rights of women, educational, social, and political, is published by Mr. Stourdza.

RUSSIA. — A temporary withdrawal of long-continued oppression of the people by the Russian Government offered opportunity for general agitation. A party arose which was permitted to conduct a campaign in favor of a constitution. A Duma, or National Parliament, had been promised by the Czar, and events seemed to point to a time when Russia would

yield to the progress of events and take her place among the constitutional monarchies of the world. In natural response to the freedom of speech and action allowed at the time, a society called the Russian Union of Defenders of Women's Rights, was formed in 1905. It joined its demands to the general liberative movement, emphasizing its claims for women. Local branches were established all over Russia and hope beat high in the hearts of Russian men and women. Had the constitutional movement been permitted to develop normally it is believed by the advocates of "women's rights" in Russia, that men and women would have had an equal voice in the new government. For many years women, equally with men had given up family relations and domestic peace that they might preach the faith of "freedom of conscience, speech, assembly, and association," for their nation. Hundreds of them had found death upon the executioner's block and thousands more had walked the trail to mysterious and dread Siberia. Such capacity for sacrifice and patriotic service has compelled men to regard women as equal comrades in the struggle for the common welfare.

A Duma was established in 1905 and the usual freedom of thought and action guaranteed by civilized lands was promised, but the elections were so controlled that reactionaries composed a considerable portion of the members. The Czar reserved to himself a veto upon all acts and in consequence the promised freedom resolved itself speedily into a new form of the old

tyranny. The old way of checking progress by killing or imprisoning its leaders was again resumed and the life and liberty of woman suffragists, in common with other reformers, were no longer safe. In 1909, a band of women, some of whom were connected with close friends of the Government, succeeded in securing consent to hold a Woman's Congress in St. Petersburg. The concession was made with the provision attached that no foreign woman should be permitted to attend the Congress and that the program should be submitted to a Government Censor. Every topic which indicated discussion which might include criticism of the established order was carefully eliminated by the Censor, yet for one entire week hundreds of women sat together in a convention and the press of St. Petersburg, as well as that of the Provinces was filled with the news of that wonderful phenomenon, a Woman's Congress. When women went home to their own Provinces, inspired by new hope and courage and asked permission to report this Congress to their townswomen, nearly all the Governors forbade them to do it. One woman returning from a Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, gained permission to give a report of the meeting, but was arrested upon the charge of having implied that the Russian Government was behind the times! After paying a fine of $50 and giving a promise to speak no more upon that subject, she was given her freedom. The movements in Russia for the rights of men and women are like the

smouldering fires of a volcano. An occasional burst of smoke gives evidence of their presence, while the overlying coat of white ashes conceals their real nature. Some day an eruption will send the powers of oppression and reaction to destruction and liberate a long suffering people. It is unthinkable that men will not protect women in their claim to equal political rights when that day comes.

SERVIA.— In this land, the ancient feudal rights extended to women, but have fallen into disuse. In 1906, the Servian National Women's Association was formed and shortly after the President, Mme. Miloveck, attempted to use her local vote. She was refused and took her cause to the courts. The judge handed down the remarkable decision "According to law you have a local vote, but you cannot use this vote, as it is not the custom of women to make use of their local vote." The women have pursued their work of education, but all efforts to secure further rights for women were soon lost in the all absorbing Balkan war. Servian women in common with all the women of these countries have taken no inconsiderable part in the work of caring for the sick and wounded, and have nobly shared the sacrifices which every people make in time of war.

SWEDEN.— Swedish women, widows, and unmarried rate payers, were given a vote in 1862. In 1909 any woman qualified to vote was made eligible to municipal office. As five town councils elect members

of the Upper House of Parliament, women thus elected gained a direct parliamentary vote. In 1910, 37 women town councillors were elected, 11 having a right to vote for members of parliament. In 1913 a Government measure was introduced granting parliamentary suffrage to women. It had the approval of the King and passed the Lower House, but was defeated in the Upper House. The Swedish Woman Suffrage Association has the unique distinction of having branches above the polar circle and in proportion to population of having the largest membership of any country in the world. Municipal suffrage is based upon a property qualification and one individual may cast many votes, the highest number of votes allowable being forty. Many women are qualified to cast this number, and as the Swedish people are logical minded, it will soon follow that the inconsistency of permitting a woman to cast forty votes in one election and none in another will be removed.

SPAIN.— No woman suffrage organization has as yet been organized in Spain, but a member of Parliament introduced a bill in 1911 to extend suffrage to women, an indication that unorganized sentiment exists.

SWITZERLAND.— No suffrage rights have been conferred upon women in Switzerland, but a regularly constituted National Woman Suffrage Association has conducted an active campaign in its behalf for some years.

The United States of America

As a special article treats of Woman Suffrage in the United States, it is unnecessary to add comment upon it here.

Suffrage in British Colonies

AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND.— Woman suffrage upon the same terms as men was granted in New Zealand in 1893; South Australia in 1893; West Australia, 1899; Federal Suffrage for all women of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1902; New South Wales, 1902; Tasmania, 1903; Queensland, 1905; Victoria, 1909.

The woman suffrage campaign in Australia lasted thirty-nine years. For seventeen years before the women of Victoria were enfranchised the Lower House had been willing to pass a woman suffrage measure, but the Upper House obstinately refused.

The total number of women voters in Australia was 900,000 in 1909. Women are not eligible to Parliament in the States of New South Wales and West Australia. They are eligible in all the other States and in the Federal Parliament. They are not eligible in New Zealand.

Miss Margaret Hodge in her report for Australia at the Congress of the International Alliance at Stockholm in 1911 said:

"In every State the enfranchisement of women has led to improved legislation affecting the welfare of Home and Children. Laws dealing with drink, crime,

vice, gambling, have tightened up, and the greatest vigilance is shown in the protection of infant life by providing trained inspectors for boarded-out children, pure milk and food supplies, education for mothers, and the establishment of Free Kindergartens for the training of character; children's playgrounds for healthy recreation; and the substitution of Children's Courts and the Probation System for the old thoughtless, cruel methods of dealing with juvenile delinquents."

In 1903, the first year after women won the Commonwealth franchise equal pay for equal work was established in the Federal Public Service.

CANADA.—Women have municipal suffrage as follows:

1. Ontario — granted 1884.
2. Nova Scotia — granted 1887.
3. Manitoba — granted 1887.
4. British Columbia — granted 1888.
5. Northwest Territory — granted 1888.
6. Quebec — granted 1889.

SOUTH AFRICA.— Municipal elections in all the States of South Africa are based upon a taxpaying qualification which is equal for men and women.

Woman Suffrage in Asia

BURMAH. — A municipal government was granted to Rangoon, the Capital of Burmah, about 1882. Women

were given a vote upon the same terms with men, a taxpaying qualification being required of both. Buddhist, Mohammedan, and Confucian women not only are qualified to vote, but have done so regularly for many years.

India.— Several cities in India, including Bombay, which have been permitted municipal self-government by the British Government, have given women a vote upon the same terms as men. Parsee, Hindu, and Mohammedan women have availed themselves of the privilege in large numbers. There are no State Assemblies and no National Parliament, so that a municipal vote is all the self-government accorded to men.

China.— During the period of reconstruction after the Revolution, there was a vigorous demand by women of Canton, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, and Peking, for a vote in the new Republic. The Revolutionists of Canton Province assigned ten seats to women in the Provincial Assembly (State Legislature) and decreed that these places should be filled by the votes of women. All women interested were permitted to vote and the ten women were elected. One resigned and the nine others served. They were all educated women, teachers, or wives of prominent merchants. They spoke upon all measures before the body which interested them with as much composure as any man member and were listened to with distinguished attention.

During the sittings of the provisional constitutional convention at Nanking about thirty women demanded

a hearing and presented the unusual but sound plea that inasmuch as they had been members of the Revolutionary Society and had borne all the burdens it imposed, equally with men members, even to the risking of their lives in the war, they now demanded an equal share in the privileges resultant upon that war. The Convention passed a resolution declaring its belief in the theory of woman suffrage but accompanied it by the further belief that the "time was not ripe for it."

The Chinese women have formed a National Woman Suffrage Association which was admitted to membership in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance at its Congress in Budapest in June, 1913, forming the twenty-seventh nation represented in that body.

THE PHILIPPINES.— Among the first acts of the Philippine Assembly was to make the election of women on school boards compulsory. A bill to extend suffrage to them was introduced in the Assembly, but was not pushed as it was believed that the American Congress would veto it.

(See Questions for Review Page 1781.)

PART II

Woman Suffrage in the United States

By MARY GRAY PECK

The Early Period

WHEN European voyagers and colonists set foot on this continent, prehistoric and historic societies met. Men and women accustomed to the poetry of chivalry, and its theological degradation of women, were confronted with the way of life and thought of their savage ancestors; naturally they were startled. Among the Iroquois Indians, the squaw carried on the agriculture and commerce of the tribe; she held the reins of business, and her property rights gave her a seat in the tribal council. Thomas Chalkeley writes of Indians farther south, "Some of the most esteemed of their women do sometimes speak in their councils. I asked our interpreter why they suffered the women to speak, and he answered, 'Some women are wiser than some men.' He told me they had not done anything for many years without the counsel of an ancient grave woman, who I observed spoke much in their councils."

While the legal status of women in the American

colonies was inferior to that of the squaws they dispossessed, they were restive under their disabilities, and individually protested or disregarded them. Among these protestants was Mistress Ann Hutchinson, a brilliant woman of wealth and breeding, who with her family was banished from Massachusetts because she maintained her right to speak in her own home to mixed assemblies on religious themes. A more humorous assertion of feminine prerogative was that when the women of a certain parish refused to lay aside bonnets which were too decorative to suit their minister. In order to retire from the encounter with dignity, the minister commanded the husbands to see to the matter. But the commands of the husbands fell on deaf ears, and not even the colonial assembly prevailed on the women to alter the size of their headgear till they were tired of that style. A remarkable instance of a strongminded woman's power to assert herself against custom is found in colonial Maryland, where Lord Baltimore's estate was administered and his executive office filled for a considerable time by Margaret Brent, who claimed in consequence two votes in the provincial assembly.

Women took a leading part in the struggle for independence. Betsy Ross of Philadelphia made the first flag. Mercy Otis Warren, sister of James Otis, was the first person to counsel separation from Great Britain. General Tarleton called the home of Mrs. Brevard of Mecklenburg, S. C., where he had headquarters,

"The Hornet's Nest of America." When another British general threatened to burn up the house of a loyal woman, she replied that she would be glad to see it burn, since she well knew he never would burn anything he expected to keep! In the darkest hour of the Revolution at the close of 1776, Hannah Arnett of Elizabeth, N. J., listened at the door when her husband and other leading merchants of the city were planning to accept amnesty offered by the enemy, and in her indignation at their faint-heartedness, burst in upon them and delivered a speech so electrifying that it changed them into heroes.

Nor were these spirited women content with demanding liberty for their country. They were the first of modern times to demand it for their sex, as is seen in the famous letter written by Abigail Adams to her husband, John Adams, when the latter was sitting with the Continental Congress, in March, 1776. "I long to hear you have declared an independency, and by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies, and be more favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation." Like her friend, Mercy Otis Warren,

Abigail Adams deplored the educational disabilities of women as keenly as the economic and legal.

Another influential woman of that day, Hannah Lee Corbin of Virginia, sister of General Richard Henry Lee, wrote her brother protesting against the taxation of women without allowing them to vote. It is on record that at various times women did vote in Virginia, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. Full suffrage was specifically granted to the women of the last named state by the constitution of July 2, 1776, two days before the Declaration of Independence, and in 1790 and 1797 legislative enactments confirmed them in the right. The franchise was illegally taken from them in 1807, because they were availing themselves of it! It is well to recall, in these days when legislatures are threatening to penalize men for failing to vote, how a hundred years ago they disfranchised women because they voted.

The status of women during the colonial period and for two generations following the Revolution was that of women under the common law of England. The wife had no legal existence, and her property belonged to her husband. As widow, she regained some financial independence, with dower right during life to a fraction of her husband's estate. As spinster, she might hold and will property and engage in four general occupations. The wife had no legal control over her children or their earnings, nor over her own earnings. If a system had been devised with the purpose of degrad-

ing marriage and impelling women to remain outside it, none could have been more beautiful in its completeness than the common law.

From the Revolution to the Civil War

As soon as increasing population and expanding manufacture in the new nation forced women, legally and economically inferior as they were, to compete with men in the effort to support themselves and those dependent upon them, their tragic handicap in the labor market became evident. They were without political representation, and the social system under which they lived was far less humane than that of the Roman Empire in the period of its decadence.

The invention of machinery in the textile industries was followed early in the 19th century by the entry of women and girls into the factories. Sweated labor was employed without control or limit. Wages paid women were incredibly low, the hours were intolerable, the conditions unspeakable. To crown their misery, wages could be and largely were collected by their husbands, if they were so unfortunate as to be married. Sweated labor commonly received from 9 to 15 cents a day, and 25 cents was the ordinary wage for seamstresses.

The first investigation into wages and working conditions of women was made by Matthew Carey, a publisher of Philadelphia, in 1828. The facts he published created a widespread indignation among women.

but little result followed, for in a report published in Boston in 1844 we find practically the same scale of wages. "Mary Mannid makes pants for 25 cents a pair, 1 pair a day, which means $1.50 a week; Hannah Silsey has to work 14 hours a day to earn $2 a week, and at making striped shirts can only earn $1 a week; Mrs. Oakes earns $1.12½ cents a week." These women went on strike.

It was inevitable that these conditions should result in organization of working women for self preservation, and such organizations began in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. From that time, wage-earning women have fought side by side with workingmen for better conditions in the labor world.

Conditions were scarcely more tolerable among women of the propertied and professional classes. If these women were unmarried and had no income they either were dependents in the home of relatives or earned slender remuneration as illy-equipped music teachers, governesses or private school teachers. It was inevitable that their precarious and humiliating economic status should rouse them to revolt. This revolt began with the movement for educational privileges, and as early as 1817 Emma Willard secured the first legislative appropriation for girls' education from the New York legislature. Chief among those who saw the financial value of education was Catherine Beecher, eldest sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Although one of the most energetic and masterful spirits of her day,

FRANCES WRIGHT,

One of the first champions of women's rights.

Catherine Beecher was an opponent of woman suffrage, and to the end of her life never saw anything incongruous between her public activities and her custom of sitting mute on a public platform where she was billed to make an address, while some man read her speech for her! It was Miss Beecher's opinion that women were the natural teachers of children, and in her "Remedy for the Wrongs of Women," she writes: "There are more than 2,000,000 children in this country without any school. There are probably as many more in schools taught by men, *who could be far more appropriately employed in shops or mills or other masculine employment.* It would require 200,000 women to meet this demand." She thought it was contrary to "Divine intention," a phrase much used by both sides in discussing these problems, that women should drudge at mechanical trades 14 hours a day for a pittance, while men were doing their natural work at good salaries, and doing it poorly. It was the working girl and her hopeless outlook that was uppermost in Miss Beecher's mind. So, too, it was the tragedy of the working girl which lay heavy on the heart of Mary Lyon, who dreamed of founding a school "where every poor girl in Massachusetts can get an education if she wants it." Not Miss Beecher's normal school training was the goal of Mary Lyon, but that far-off, shining, forbidden freedom of the soul, Higher Education. As the result of a life as consecrated to a vision as any ever lived, Mt. Holyoke, the first school for the higher

education of women in the modern world, was opened in 1837; but it was discreetly called a *seminary*.

Meantime, in 1833, Oberlin College had been opened in Ohio, establishing the precedent of higher co-education, which has been followed by all western state universities, and which is largely responsible for the greater consideration for women which is characteristic of the West.

Contemporaneously with these movements in the industrial and educational worlds, women began the struggle for entrance into the professions. Women have always been the world's nurses, and it was natural that the medical profession should be one of the first attempted. In 1835 Harriot K. Hunt began the practice of medicine in Boston. But so hostile was the profession to this innovation that when she applied for admission to lectures in Harvard Medical School, twelve years later, she was refused, and it was not till 1853 that she received the degree of M. D. from the then newly established Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania. As early as 1838 women were giving lectures on "anatomy," often in the interest of the temperance movement. In 1848, the principle was established of women's right to the M. D. (if they could get it!) with the graduation of Elizabeth Blackwell from the College of Medicine in Geneva, N. Y.

As was to be expected, the law and the ministry, professions governed chiefly by tradition, and the furthest removed from the scientific spirit which was beginning

to penetrate thought, were those most difficult for women to enter. As late as 1869 the State of Illinois denied the right to practice law to Myra Bradwell, who was editing the official law journal of the state bar, on the ground that she was not only a woman, but a married woman! The Supreme Court of the United States confirmed the decision. But in 1871 the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia unwillingly admitted Belva Lockwood to practice before it, and in 1879 she was admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court.

In the ministry, women won recognition earlier, the freedom of the Friends preparing the way. Several denominations licensed or ordained women to preach, but it was bitterly opposed by the clergy, and, with a few exceptions, their entrance to the theological schools was not accomplished till the 70's.

The struggle for equal rights before the law began with the demand that married women should be allowed to control their own property. The first petition was sent to the New York legislature by Ernestine Rose, a brilliant Polish exile who played a conspicuous part in the early equal rights movement. This petition numbered *five names* which were secured with great difficulty, so fearful were women of incurring notoriety. In 1836 the first married women's property bill was introduced into the New York legislature, where it was finally passed twelve years later in the famous year of the first woman's rights convention

in Seneca Falls. Maine, however, had beaten New York by four years in passing a similar bill. Between 1848 and 1860 the New York legislature, under continual pressure from the women, secured to married women the right to their earnings and co-guardianship of their children. Thus the period preceding the Civil War recognized the principle of justice in the legal status of married women.

Important and sweeping as were the changes outlined in the preceding pages, it was out of two movements next to be considered that the agitation for political rights for women directly arose. These were the Temperance and Anti-Slavery movements.

Every social revolution has its forerunner, and never was there a bolder herald than the women's political movement had in Frances Wright, who came to this country from Scotland in the 20's, and joined forces with Robert Dale Owen in his socialistic colony in Indiana. She was young, handsome, ardent, wealthy, was the first woman to mount the public platform in America, and her demand was for complete economic, legal, and political equality between the sexes. She was greeted with a storm of abuse wherever she appeared, a particular uproar arising among the clergy, who seem to have regarded her as directly inspired by the devil. The word "infidel" saw its first hard wear in this country during the years when Frances Wright was lecturing. A woman on the public platform was regarded as next thing to Antichrist.

It was when Frances Wright was in the public eye that the temperance movement began. The curse of alcoholism, with the poverty and wretchedness attendant upon it, were the plagues of the first half of the 19th century. Wives who worked to support the family saw their meager earnings legally claimed by drunken husbands, who at the same time bound their children out to work and collected their wages. The women's hatred of the liquor traffic had a twofold origin; moral and economic. As woman was the great sufferer, a concession was made by the men who led the movement, and she was allowed to tell her wrongs on the platform in order to awaken popular indignation. Women formed temperance societies of their own, which contributed the lion's share in enthusiasm and money to the cause. But although allowed by courtesy to speak at meetings, women were excluded with violent disturbance when they applied for seats and votes in conventions.

In 1852 Susan B. Anthony was refused permission to speak at a state temperance convention at Albany on the ground that women were invited to listen, not to take part, and in 1853, at the World's Temperance Convention in New York, when her name was proposed for a committee, amid a scene of disgraceful turbulence the women delegates were ejected from the convention, a number of men sympathizers going out with them. After the withdrawal one minister remarked, "He was glad the women were gone; they

were now rid of the scum of the convention." Later in the same year, when Antoinette Brown, ordained minister and regular delegate, attempted to speak in another World's Convention in New York, such an uproar resulted that a stranger in the gallery asked his neighbor, "Are those men drunk?" Horace Greeley reported this meeting in the *New York Tribune* thus: "This convention has completed three of its four sessions and the results may be summed up as follows;—First day, crowding a woman off the platform;—Second day, gagging her;—Third day, voting that she shall stay gagged. Having thus disposed of the main question, we presume that the incidentals will be finished this morning." This same convention refused the credentials of a delegate who was a graduate of Edinburgh University because he was colored.

This brings us to the direct cause of the woman suffrage movement, which was the antislavery movement. Objection to slavery was as old as the nation. Benjamin Franklin was president of the first antislavery society in America. In 1828 two young South Carolina women, the Grimke sisters, emancipated their slaves and came north to lecture and write against slavery. In 1833 the Antislavery and Female Antislavery Societies were formed, and in 1839 when they combined, the men's society split on the question of admitting the women, and formed a new men's society. The altercation came to a head at the World's Antislavery Convention, which was called in London in

1840. To this meeting delegates went from both American societies, among them being Lucretia Mott, William Lloyd Garrison, and Wendell Phillips. When they presented their credentials, after heated debate and amid intense excitement, the American women delegates were refused seats in the convention, to attend which they had come thousands of miles. Garrison staid out of the convention with them. It was on this dramatic occasion that Elizabeth Cady Stanton, then in England on her wedding journey, met Lucretia Mott and became a convert to the women's cause. Walking down the Strand one afternoon, arm in arm, the two women came to the conclusion, in view of the rejection of the American delegates, that before women could work effectively for others they must get recognition for themselves, and they pledged themselves to call a Woman's Rights Convention as soon as they should get back to America.

It was not till 1848 that the plan of Mrs. Mott and Mrs. Stanton materialized. In that historic year of many revolutions, in Seneca Falls, a sleepy country town of Western New York, where Mrs. Stanton at that time resided, the two women above mentioned, with Martha Wright and Mary McLintock, called the first Woman's Rights Convention in the world to meet July 19th and 20th. It convened in the Wesleyan church, and men presided because the women felt their ignorance of parliamentary procedure. A famous Declaration of Sentiments was written, modelled on

the Declaration of Independence, and spirited resolutions were passed declaring the intention of women to win all rights accorded to men. Susan B. Anthony, who was teaching in Canajoharie, N. Y., read with amusement the account of the doings at Seneca Falls. Three years later she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the two entered upon the friendship which played a leading part in the suffrage movement of the following half century.

The complementary characters of these two women made them a rare combination for leadership. Mrs. Stanton was a woman of brilliant mind and radical temper. Keen, fearless, with wide knowledge of men and trenchant gifts as a writer, unimpeachable as wife and mother of many children, she was admirably fitted to assume the chief position in a movement which needed a general of fighting blood who could at the same time repel the charge of having repudiated the normal responsibilities of womanhood. Her quick wit and strong vitality made her impatient of more cautious and less dynamic natures. Susan B. Anthony was less brilliant and more patient than her friend. She was less a commander and more a leader. She was a born teacher, aiming to convince opinion, never to force it. There was an Old Testament, elemental, genial humanity in Miss Anthony, an epic impersonality, a large simplicity which are generally characteristic of great leaders. In her own estimate she stood second to her friend, and the mutual appreciation and

MRS. LUCRETIA MOTT

One of the organizers of the first Woman's Rights Convention held at Seneca Falls, N. Y., July 19-20, 1848

uninterrupted understanding of the two enhanced their power. To their friendship as much as to their individual gifts their prominence in the history of the suffrage movement is due.

But Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony did not at once take the leadership. There were maturer spirits before them. Death by shipwreck took Margaret Fuller from the commanding position to which her genius, lofty idealism, and wide humanity had raised her, but her book, "The Great Lawsuit," was an arsenal of argument. Ernestine Rose, impassioned orator and legislative worker; Lucretia Mott, clear, serene, fearless; Frances D. Gage, self-educated, consecrated to every moral reform; Paulina Wright Davis, an able writer and executive, editor of the first woman suffrage paper in the world, "*The Una,*" established 1853; Angelina Grimke and Abby Kelley Foster, pleaders for the slave; these were chief figures in the suffrage movement before the war. It was a synthetic group, seeing the connection between all progressive movements, working for all, offering their platform to all who had a wrong to be redressed or a grievance to proclaim. This catholic spirit was by no means characteristic of their opponents. The abuse and violence with which they were assailed is illustrated by the behavior of the Rev. Nevin of Cleveland, who went up to William Lloyd Garrison, after hearing the latter make a suffrage speech, and seizing him by the nose, shook him violently! When he was through, Garrison asked him,

"Do you feel any better, my friend? Do you hope thus to break the force of my arguments?"

This impregnable disregard of public opinion made them exceptionally hated, and the last straw was laid on the patience of the multitude when in 1850 Elizabeth Smith Miller of Geneva, N. Y., daughter of Gerrit Smith, the Abolitionist, invented the bloomer costume, so-called after the lady who popularized it. For some years after this the platform of the women's rights conventions presented a picturesque diversity of costume, ranging from Lucy Stone's black silk and velvet bloomer outfit to Lucretia Mott's Quaker garb. The last survival of this rebellion in dress is to be seen to-day in the quaint, aged figure of Dr. Mary Walker, who obtained from the federal government permission to wear men's attire when she was an army surgeon. After some years, the women gave up trying to reform dress. Mrs. Stanton said that bloomers were adapted only to forms of classic perfection. Miss Anthony confessed that wearing it had been a physical comfort but a mental crucifixion. When Gerrit Smith saw them go back into traditional garments, he said he "almost despaired of the suffrage movement."

This giving up of dress reform illustrates the conviction which was taking shape in the minds of the leaders that they could not hope to make the world over in one generation, and that they must restrict their efforts to a definite program. Up to this time they had thrown themselves with passionate fervor into

the struggle for property and family rights, educational and professional rights, prohibition of the liquor traffic, abolition of slavery. They had carried their propaganda throughout the north and west, petitioning legislative bodies, lecturing and organizing societies to seek every form of justice to man and woman. As their activity recedes into the past, it loses its crude details and rises to the altitude of grandeur, while it takes on a splendor of energy, courage, and prophetic vision which challenges the women of today.

The Reconstruction Period

When the southern cannon opened on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, the women of the North ceased agitating for their own cause, and turned to the support of the government. They went to the front as nurses; many in disguise fought in the ranks; Anna Ella Carrol planned the campaign of the Tennessee River which cut the Confederacy in two in 1862 and which was the most brilliant strategic move of the war; Elizabeth Blackwell initiated the Sanitary Commission; Clara Barton directed the Red Cross work on the battlefield; Dorothea Dix acted as head of the women nurses in the hospitals. North and south, women rendered heroic service to both armies, collecting food, medicines, hospital supplies, clothing, and in addition taking the places at home of men who had gone by hundreds of thousands to the front. Farms were tilled, shops run, business taken over by women, and in that hour of ex-

tremity none realized that the revolution that was checked by the carnage of a hundred battlefields was inconsequential to the revolution which had taken place unnoticed, north and south, behind the lines.

The Federal Government early in the war admitted to clerkships widows and dependent relatives of soldiers who had been killed. When the flotsam and jetsom of the struggle in the shape of old and worn-out slaves began to drift into Washington it was Josephine Griffing who came to their rescue, begging appropriations, and when these ceased, collecting funds privately, until out of her efforts developed the Freedmen's Bureau. In the second year of the war, a girl who had been employed in the Mint was turned out of her position because she criticised Gen. McClellan in the conduct of his campaign. This episode gave to the public one of the most extraordinary women of her time, Anna Dickinson, a girl then in her teens. Miss Dickinson was at once engaged by the Republican party as a campaign speaker, and for years was the glory of the organization which had the sense to avail itself of her services. The Civil War seemed to the women of that day the grim portal through which they were to pass to citizenship with the black man they had championed. They regarded the party of Lincoln and Anna Dickinson as the power which should accomplish the freedom of slave and woman. It never occurred to them that they had given husband and son in order to establish the citizenship of the black man,— for that is

what the war meant to most northern women,—only to see the door shut in their own faces by statesmen and by the party which they had helped to create.

The war ended; the president was shot; the grand review at Washington disbanded the huge armament; the XIII Amendment was adopted, and the sordid story of reconstruction began.

Susan B. Anthony had gone to Kansas, when one morning late in 1865 she read in a newspaper the statement that the word "male" was to be inserted into the proposed XIV Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Up to this time, that word had not appeared in the constitution. In a flash Miss Anthony saw the full extent of the tragedy to the woman's cause if the XIV Amendment should enfranchise the black man and explicitly disfranchise all women, black and white. She took the first train east, called upon all the suffrage leaders in New England, and with Mrs. Stanton in New Jersey laid out the campaign against this political move of the Republican party. As a test case to prove women's eligibility to offices for which they could not vote, Mrs. Stanton announced herself a candidate for Congress in 1866, receiving 24 votes. In the same year the American Equal Rights Association was formed to resume work for the rights of women and the black race. Almost immediately a division in the ranks developed over the question of this word male in the constitution. Sumner, Garrison, Phillips, Gerrit Smith, Tilton, Horace Greeley, and

other Abolition leaders tried to silence the protests of the women with the statement, "This is the negro's hour. The women will come next." Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, and many other women who had worked against slavery were willing to stand aside, but not Mrs. Stanton or Miss Anthony. The only man of power and influence who stood with them was Henry Ward Beecher. They petitioned Congress, collecting hundreds of thousands of signatures protesting against the word male in the XIV Amendment. In the midst of the agitation, the Kansas campaign of 1867 came on. Two constitutional amendments were submitted, one proposing to enfranchise the negro, the other to enfranchise women. Both were critical questions, for they tested public sentiment and would indicate what was to be hoped from state action. The result was discouraging. Both amendments lost, but negro suffrage polled 10,000 votes while the women secured but 9,000. From that moment, the XIV and XV Amendments became inevitable. Feeling it imperative to have a mouthpiece for expressing their views on the political crisis, Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony accepted financial backing from two Democrats and in 1868 founded the *"Revolution,"* a paper which continued for two years. At the end of that time it was discontinued, leaving Miss Anthony burdened with a debt of $10,000 which it took years of lecturing to wipe out. In 1870, chiefly through the instrumentality of Lucy Stone, *"The Woman's Journal"* was founded. It has been

published in Boston uninterruptedly since that time with uniform brilliance and editorial dignity. Under the able management of Alice Stone Blackwell, Lucy Stone's daughter, it is at present a leading power in the American suffrage movement.

In 1868 the custom began of sending women representatives to national and state party conventions to get a suffrage plank in the platform. In this year, after fierce opposition in which the Democrats charged the Republicans with betraying the women who had helped them to their determination of building up a negro constituency in the South, the XIV Amendment passed. The Amendment read, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, . . . are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. . . . No state shall . . . abridge the privileges . . . of citizens of the United States. When the right to vote is denied to any of the *male* inhabitants of such state, . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such *male* citizens shall bear to the whole number of *male* citizens twenty-one years of age in such state."

Defeated on the XIV Amendment, the suffragists who followed the lead of Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony turned to the impending XV. As proposed, this read, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or pre-

vious condition of servitude." The women demanded that the word "sex" be inserted immediately after the word "color." The division of opinion among suffrage leaders grew so pronounced as to the advisability of pressing this change that in 1869, during the height of the constitutional agitation, one wing of the American Equal Rights Association, immediately after the national convention in May, met in New York and formed a new society under the name of the National Woman Suffrage Association, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton president, and Susan B. Anthony, Ernestine Rose, Paulina Davis, Josephine Griffing, Elizabeth Miller, and others among the officers. The remaining wing of the old association met the following autumn and resolved itself into the American Woman Suffrage Association with Henry Ward Beecher president, and Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, Julia Ward Howe, Mary A. Livermore, T. W. Higginson, Antoinette Brown Blackwell as officers. The latter society, while petitioning Congress for a XVI Amendment to deal exclusively with enfranchising the women, turned its chief attention to securing state action. Time has demonstrated this policy as the one to bring first results. The National society held its conventions at the national capital; the American, in leading cities throughout the country. The two societies remained separate down to the year 1890, when they reunited under the present name, National American Woman Suffrage Association.

In 1870 the XV Amendment was adopted without

the word sex, and both suffrage societies demanded the submission of a XVI Amendment, as the next step toward a complete democracy. But meantime, at a state suffrage convention in St. Louis, Francis Minor, a lawyer, presented resolutions declaring that women were entitled to vote under the wording of the XIV Amendment; that women were included under "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States. No state shall abridge the privileges of citizens of the United States." This position was enthusiastically endorsed by the convention. The following March, 1870, Marilla Ricker of New Hampshire applied for registry and was accepted, but did not vote until 1871. To her belongs the distinction of being the first woman to vote under the XIV Amendment. In April of the same year, Nannette Gardner voted in Detroit, and 70 women attempted to vote in the District of Columbia. Refused registry in the District, the women took their case into court, carrying it up to the Supreme Court of the U. S., where the verdict was adverse. This began the remarkable series of trials in the courts, by means of which women in California, Illinois, Missouri, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania attempted to establish their right under the constitution to all the privileges of citizens. The constitutional struggle lasted for five years until the decision of Chief Justice Waite of the United States Supreme Court in the Minor-Happersett case,

in 1875, put an end to the possibility of women voting under the constitution as it stands. The contradictions in the arguments of learned judges when they were forced to declare that words which meant one thing in the case of the negro meant something different in the case of women, roused the deepest resentment in the breasts of the latter. Next in importance to the Minor case was that of Susan B. Anthony, who attempted to vote in the presidential election of 1872.

These years were the dark ages of the suffrage cause in this country. Repudiated by the Republican party, denied rights in the federal courts on the ground that state rights were paramount, in face of the fact that the ballot had been given to the negro without consulting the states, placed secondary to the negro by men they had reckoned their staunchest supporters, conscious of a deadly subsidence in popular interest which was inevitable when the case was decided against them, all felt discouragement except the dauntless few who in every great cause stand in the gap between the first and the last enthusiasm. But vast social and economic forces began to move obscurely in the darkness of those discouraged years. Full and still, almost unmarked, the tide of woman's energy rose, flowed into the industrial reservoirs of the nation, crept up the highest dykes raised by the professions and the schools, and hung poised and resistless for the hour when the collapse of immemorial barriers would let loose the deluge of a new age upon the world. It came in the middle

eighties. Courts and legislatures took to the one ark which was left to them, and in 1887 Congress sent out the raven of the Edmunds-Tucker Act, disenfranchising the women of Utah.

The story of the 70's is briefly told. Virginia was the first southern state to form a suffrage society, which happened in 1870. The Northwestern and Pacific Slope Associations were formed the same year, that veteran figure, Abigail Scott Duniway, taking leading part. In 1871 Victoria Woodhull shot like a meteor into the suffrage movement and raised a commotion that took years to subside. Young, beautiful, gifted with genius but denied patience, she foresaw the course the cause must take and wrecked herself in premature effort to travel it. With her sister, Tennie C. Claflin, she opened a broker's office on Wall Street in 1870, and shortly afterward began the publication of "*Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*," a journal which soon became notorious because it attacked prostitution and the social system which produces it. The cry of "Free love" was raised by press and public, and when Mrs. Woodhull appeared on the suffrage platform, slanders attaching to her were transferred to all who associated with her. It seems humorous, today, to read that a resolution was offered in one of the suffrage conventions disavowing free love! It was tabled, but it is significant that some women were so tormented by the scurrilous attacks upon them that they sought relief in such a resolution. Victoria Woodhull with her chil-

dren was hounded out of the country, ruined in fortune and broken in heart, to die abroad. It was a strange turn of fortune which saw, in 1911, a crowded and distinguished Chicago audience gathered in the Auditorium to hear Lady Cook, the once proscribed Tennie Claflin, say without offense the things for which Victoria Woodhull had been crucified.

The Fourth of July in Centennial year was the occasion of a memorable scene in Philadelphia where the Exposition was in progress. In the ceremonies of that day American women had been denied official representation on the platform in Independence Square, while representatives of foreign monarchies from Turkey to Brazil were welcomed. In the midst of the exercises, Susan B. Anthony made her way to the chairman of the day, and in full view of the audience presented the protest of the women of the nation against this indignity, and against their deprivation of citizenship. It was a solemn indictment which the time and place made historic. Simultaneously Elizabeth Cady Stanton read the protest with the accompanying bill of rights to a crowd from the steps of Independence Hall and was cheered in every clause. The events of these years led Mrs. Stanton to write, in 1877, "The American people have outgrown the constitution, which was adapted to the men of 1776. It is a monarchical document with republican ideas engrafted in it, full of compromises between antagonistic principles. The

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

To whose courage and zeal the cause of Woman Suffrage owes much of its progress.

real work at the dawn of our second century is to make a new one."

The early leaders were beginning to pass away, the only ray of hope which they had seen being the enfranchisement of women in Wyoming in 1869. In 1878 Lucretia Mott passed down the aisle out of her last convention, and Frederick Douglass, knowing that they should see her no more, called after her, "Good bye, dear Lucretia!" With the withdrawal of that benignant presence the era of the Reconstruction with the constitutional struggle of women to become included in the number of citizens of their country, came to a close.

The Entrance of Woman Suffrage Into National Politics

In 1890, with the union of the two suffrage associations, a new impulse began to manifest itself. It was the year of the admission of Wyoming as a state, the first state to give the ballot to its women. Young women were in training to carry the work over into the twentieth century. Notable among them were the two who have held the presidency of the national society since Susan B. Anthony resigned the office. These were Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. In Mrs. Catt, the suffrage cause secured a general; in Miss Shaw, it found an orator. The former made her first appearance on the speaking program of a national convention in 1890. During the following decade she formed a new committee, on organization, and served as its chairman. During the

first year of its existence she had brought nearly every state and territory into the association. Her first plea in the councils of the society was for system, by means of which growing sentiment might be focussed. She inaugurated a movement of organic correlation of state associations which proved effective for twenty years, and when the suffrage movement was on the eve of entering the field of national politics she organized the Woman Suffrage Party to meet new needs. Other suffrage leaders have surpassed Mrs. Catt in particular qualities, but when it comes to the record of permanent and prophetic achievement, the winning and clinching of tangible advantages, those qualities which we call statesmanship, on this plane she stands alone. None of the prominent figures who have come crowding into the arena in the last years have demonstrated that power to conceive a great plan and carry it to a great consummation, which she has repeatedly put forth. The practical organization of the national suffrage society, the building of the International Suffrage Alliance, and the formation of the Woman Suffrage Party are three instances.

In 1893 the series of suffrage victories began. Colorado enfranchised its women in that year. In 1896 Utah and Idaho followed. A pause of 16 years ensued, during which the Spanish-American War was fought, the struggle of the people with the monopolies was begun, while the rise of the labor unions, the Socialist party, the Single Tax group, the doctrine of public

ownership of natural resources and public utilities, all showed the dawn of a new social thought. The retirement of Miss Anthony from the official leadership of the suffrage movement in 1900 and the selection of Mrs. Catt as her successor, emphasized the passing of the old order and the coming of the new. Miss Anthony lived to see herself internationally honored as the greatest living American woman, with royal honors shown her on her visits abroad, while in her own country, her last years were filled with a gratitude, honor, and affection which few leaders of men reap. She died in 1907, one month after attending a suffrage convention in Washington, D. C., having attained the age of 86.

The last years of the 19th century saw the rise of ever more imposing national and international bodies of women standing for the advancement of the rights and opportunities of women. Among the most important were the National and International Councils of Women, organized in this country in 1888. Mrs. Millicent Fawcett, of England, was president of the International Council, Clara Barton, Vice-president. Frances Willard was President of the National Council, Susan B. Anthony was Vice-president. The idea of an international organization which should represent the world-wide needs and activities of women originated with Mrs. Stanton. A woman's rights congress had been held in Paris in 1878, with delegates from six countries, but no permanent association resulted. Mrs.

Stanton and Miss Anthony planned to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Seneca Falls convention by forming a permanent International Council of Women, and holding its first convention at the national capital. Delegates were present from nine countries, representing 53 national organizations of women, the sessions lasted eight days, during which 80 speakers addressed 53 meetings. Rachel Foster (Avery) as Corresponding Secretary supervised arrangements, spending the then unprecedented sum of $12,000. At the close of the meetings, the Council endorsed Mrs. Stanton's resolution declaring for equal educational and professional opportunities, industrial training for women, equal wages for equal work and a single standard of morality. National councils were subsequently formed in most European countries, which are active today.

In 1902, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, realized a dream of many years by calling a meeting in Washington to take steps toward organizing the world for suffrage. (See article by Mrs. Catt, page 1587.)

Imposing as is the International Woman Suffrage Alliance as the climactic result of two generations of pressure for the political recognition of women, it is to a newer organization in the suffrage arena that all eyes are turning as the most significant factor in the political struggle of women for the ballot in the next few years in the United States. This organization is the Woman Suffrage Party. In October, 1909, the

first convention of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York was held in Carnegie Hall, with 804 delegates attending, the platform, boxes, and galleries being filled with distinguished and interested spectators. The party grew out of the union of suffrage societies in Greater New York, known as the Interurban Suffrage council, and its founder, Carrie Chapman Catt, was the first chairman. The party plan of work calls for a Leader in each Assembly District, and a Captain in each Election District. These leaders are in charge of the work of thoroughly canvassing their respective territories, and seeing that strong working committees are elected by the enrolled suffragists discovered by the canvass. In Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Cleveland, and Chicago, the organization follows ward and county lines instead of assembly district. In other respects, the plan of the parent organization is closely adhered to. The advantages of organizing suffragists by political districts instead of in the older heterogeneous clubs is apparent to the most superficial observer. Women are at once educated to speak and think in political terms. Their suffrage activities lead at once to practical politics. They become formidable elements in "constituencies," for they seize upon the questioning of candidates, primaries, elections, campaign and all kinds of political meetings, as occasions for propaganda. They enter local and state politics with the purpose of defeating anti-suffrage candidates. On the other hand, their definite plan of organization enables them to concen-

trate their forces upon any given point at short notice, to take a hand in every organized effort to better social conditions by political action.

The growth of the party plan of organization has been unprecedented. It has been adopted with uniform success in many states, being specially valuable in campaign territory. In states like Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, where there are many large cities, it is acknowledged to be the best method so far devised for grouping masses of population and getting at the individual voter. It offers definite work to all who are willing to do something, and does not burden those who are not able to assume new duties.

In spite of many rivals, the Woman Suffrage Party of New York continues to be the most important branch of the new organization. During its first year, it enrolled 20,000 members, collected $6,000, established a monthly magazine "*The Woman Voter*," and organized Greater New York. At the close of 1912, it numbered 70,000 members in New York City alone, and on the occasion of the meeting in Carnegie Hall to welcome home its founder from her round the world tour for suffrage, November, 1912, some $6,000 was raised in a few minutes, a sum equal to the year's collection in 1910.

Other national suffrage organizations are the Friends' Equal Rights Association; The College Equal Suffrage League, founded by Maud Wood Park, of Boston, in 1902, formed into a national organization by its found-

er and organizer in 1908; the Equal Franchise Society, formed in New York City, in 1909, with Mrs. Clarence Mackay as first president, extending into other states the following year.

Notable local suffrage organizations are the No Vote No Tax League (1910), and Suffrage Federation of Cook County (1912), both of Chicago; the Women's Political Union, of New York, headquarters at 46 East 29th St., founder and president, Harriet Stanton Blatch, collections during 1912, $24,000, membership fee, 25 cents, publication *"The Broadside"* when the spirit moves, chief object to influence the legislature, its most remarkable recent achievement being the suffrage parade of May, 1912, when 10,000 women from all suffrage organizations marched up Fifth Avenue from Washington Square to Carnegie Hall; the Political Equality Association, founder and first president, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, with 12 associated clubs, handsome headquarters with shop, reading room, restaurant, and assembly room located in the property purchased by Mrs. Belmont, at 115 East 41st Street, membership 3,000.

Among the national organizations of women devoted to objects other than suffrage, the National Women's Trade Union League (1903), and The American Woman's Republic place woman suffrage among the planks in their platform; the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1874) has a suffrage department, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs has formed

a committee for the arrangement of political study courses. As a natural accompaniment of the evolution of these and other huge women's organizations, the tendency of the present time in the woman's movement is to return to the synthetic correlation of the early period. Then, it was because the same women were prominent in different movements; today, women who are prominent in special phases realize the economy of centralized intelligence and coöperative resources, and the great organizations are dove-tailing their departments in order to work together. It was Professor Frances Squire Potter who first saw and clearly enunciated this application of the department idea in a working coöperation of men and women's organizations in social and political endeavor. The plan outlined by her in the summer of 1909 is to organize political districts on the department scheme, with central headquarters in which all organizations share, this headquarters serving as a practical laboratory of citizenship. This is the ultimate of the synthetic movement, and is called the Political Settlement Plan.

The rise and expansion of religious, fraternal, secret, patriotic, and reform associations among women at the close of the 19th century reminds one of the swift spread of new thought in the Renaissance. It impressed popular imagination and the 20th century is called the woman's age. There are three points upon which the attention of women all over the world is being ever more intently fixed. The first is prostitution; the sec-

ond, inseparably bound up with the first, is women's wages and economic independence; the third, preliminary to any consideration of the former two, is woman suffrage. Owing to its obvious and inclusive character, the last question engages popular attention preëminently. Several causes are contributory to this rise in interest during the last few years. First may be mentioned the spectacular militant movement in England, which began with the unfurling of the Votes for Women banner in the House of Commons in 1905. The dramatic events the other side of the water, with Mrs. Pankhurst's lecturing tours in this country in the fall of 1909 and 1911, had a powerful effect in arousing American women of the so-called "leisure class." The increasing emphasis put by the Federation of Labor on suffrage, owing to the pressure of the women's Trade Unions, is another cause. The growth of the Socialist Party, and its suffrage petition to congress in 1912; the formation of the Progressive Party, in 1912, its adoption of a suffrage plank and the consequent adherence of prominent women in many parts of the country, are factors leading to the presence of woman suffrage among paramount political issues of the day. But behind all these, behind the increasing number of state conventions and legislatures which year by year submit the question to referendum, behind the victorious suffrage amendment in Washington, in 1910, California, in 1911, Oregon, Arizona, and Kansas, in 1912, Alaska, in 1913, lies the fundamental

cause, which is that women who have assumed a share in the world's work naturally and inevitably have come to demand a share in the world's government. Even the defeat sustained by suffrage in the Ohio constitutional campaign in 1912 was as glorious as former victories, for it polled a quarter of a million favorable votes and showed the press overwhelmingly favorable, while the defeat in Michigan of the same year, by a majority of a few hundred votes fraudulently counted, is generally known to have been in reality a suffrage victory.

In the United States, women vote on equal terms with men in the following states, named in the order in which they adopted the amendment: Wyoming (1869, 1890), Colorado (1893), Utah (1896), Idaho (1896), Washington (1910), California (1911), Oregon, Arizona, Kansas (1912), Alaska Territory (1913). Partial franchise is granted women in 22 states, while in 17 women have no measure of suffrage. The most important victory after those in the full suffrage states is the gaining of presidential and municipal suffrage for women in Illinois, 1913. Proof that suffrage has become a popular question is seen in the aggressive campaign methods adopted by present-day leaders, methods which would not be tolerated by the public if the cause were not approved. Among these are parades, inaugurated by the New York parade of May, 1911, in which 3,000 women marched, and reaching their most beautiful development in the

torchlight parade under the auspices of the Woman Suffrage Party in New York on the evening of November 9, 1912, to celebrate the suffrage victories in the recent election. Other new and picturesque methods are open air speaking, suffrage auto, trolley and walking trips, distribution of literature from balloons, signs strung across thoroughfares or on buildings, show windows with tableaus or "demonstrators" with placards who keep a crowd collected day after day, magic lantern slides run in theaters or on street screens, entr'acte theater speaking, suffrage shops, bazars, tea rooms, amateur plays, songs, and all the time honored methods furbished up to suit the modern love of pageantry. Regular headquarters are a necessity, press bureaus are multiplying, "*The Woman's Journal*," Boston, "*The Woman Voter*," New York, "*The Forerunner*," New York, "*Life and Labor*," Chicago, at their small subscription fees, are indispensable to those who wish to keep informed on the progress of suffrage in our country. The Woman Suffrage Party is a practical introduction to politics, and it is but a question of brief time when women will be candidates for Congress and State Legislatures, as they already are appointed to national and state positions of trust and authority. But that time will not come without determined effort on the part of women. Every step of the way will have to be fought now in the day of victory as of old in the day of defeat. As the enemy's line is

broken, he becomes the more tenacious of what is left. Those who look for a social landslide to bring full suffrage to women in this country by sheer force of gravitation will look a long time. The solid east is entrenched against it, and the solid west is a long way off.

(See Questions for Review Page 1782.)

MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

A woman of brilliant mind and a keen and fearless worker for the suffrage cause.

PART III

Manhood Suffrage in the United States

By A. B. WOLFE, PH. D.

AMERICAN political institutions are in their origin the heritage of two lines of influence—the English political ideals and methods which the colonists brought with them, and the influence of the philosophy of the French Revolution. Chief among the political ideals the colonists inherited from the mother country was that of representative government. As England is today, with the exception of Switzerland, probably the most responsive political democracy in existence, so we find the origin of the representative principle far back in its aristocratic history. The germ of representation, and therefore indirectly of suffrage, is found in the jury system, which originated as a device of the king to discover taxable property,* in the ancient Anglo-Saxon moots or assemblies of freemen called together to discuss the civil affairs of borough, hundred, or shire (county) and in the great national assembly of wise men, the witenagemote, which was the early germ of Parliament. The constitution of the

* Stubbs, *"Constitutional History of England,"* I, 652.

witenagemote was less popular than that of the hundred- or shire-moots; its members were summoned by the king, and he summoned whom he chose. The popular voice was associated with its deliberations only to the extent that crowds of the populace of the locality in which it happened at the time to be held attended and shouted their approval or disapproval. Until a system of representation had grown up there could be no real participation by the people in the national government.

The development of such a system of national representation began in 1254 when a writ of Henry III directed the sheriff of each county to "cause to come" to the king's council two knights of the shire, choosen by the men of the shire. In 1265 not only two knights from each shire, but two burgesses from each borough were summoned, and in the famous writ of Edward I, in 1295, the king summoned the knights and burgesses definitely to be elected by the freeholders. The older national council had consisted of members of the privileged classes, summoned as individuals and not as representatives. Down to 1430 all male freeholders were entitled to vote for knights of the shire, but in that year an act was passed confining this right to freeholders resident in the county and in possession of land worth a rental value of at least forty shillings a year. The preamble of the statute explains the reason for its passage: "Whereas the elections of Knights of the Shires to come to the Parliament of our Lord the

King in many Counties of the Realm of England have now of late been made by very great outrageous and excessive Number of People dwelling within the same Counties of the Realm of England, of which the most Part was of People of small substance and of no Value whereof everyone of them pretended a Voice equivalent as to such Elections to be made, with the most worthy Knights and Esquires dwelling within the same Counties, whereby Manslaughters Riot Batteries and Divisions among Gentlemen and other People of the same Counties, shall very likely rise and be, unless some convenient and due Remedy be provided in this Behalf . . . " From this time dates the famous forty-shilling freehold qualification for county voters, which was retained in force for almost exactly four hundred years, till the great Reform Bill of 1832.

The significance of this limitation for us is that during all the two centuries in which the English colonists were braving the storms of the Atlantic to set up trading posts and settlements in America, the national representation to which they had been accustomed was based upon a property-limited suffrage. For while in the course of time the definition of freehold had been extended to cover the possession of certain offices and "livings," as well as land, and while with rising prices in the 16th century a much smaller amount of land sufficed for a forty-shilling freehold, the county suffrage still remained essentially aristocratic, and Parliament continued, to an increasing extent, to be made up

of representatives of the great land-holding interests.

In the towns, as time went on, a veritable hodge-podge of suffrage qualifications grew up. By common law the election of representatives to Parliament was the right of the inhabitant householders, but in a large number of boroughs other, and exceedingly complex and various, qualifications prevailed, fixed by local custom or by royal charter.* "The right of suffrage might extend to all the householding inhabitants of the borough, or it might be limited solely to the score of officers of the corporation; it might include hundreds of resident and non-resident freemen, or pertain to only the holders of a dozen or fifty ancient land tenures; in some places it included the forty-shilling freeholders, in others the occupants of certain original houses, often little more than dilapidated hovels; in others still every potwalloper, or man boiling his own pot, had the right to vote.† Sometimes the choice of parliamentary representatives fell into the hands of only two or three persons, and thus grew up the list of "rotten" or "nomination" boroughs which contributed to wholesale corruption and to the deep discontent of the great new manufacturing cities like Birmingham and Leeds which were without representation of any sort, and which finally led, after decades of effort, to radical re-

* May, "*Constitutional History of England*," I, 263, ff.

† A. E. McKinley, "*The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies of America*," p. 10. See pp. 10-16 for brief discussion of these various qualifications.

vision of franchise qualifications and redistribution of parliamentary representation in 1832, and again in 1867 and 1885.* By the middle of the seventeenth century, when American colonization was in full swing, Parliamentary representation had become an illusion, and remained so for two hundred years, thanks to the influence of the aristocratic county franchise, the selfish policies of the great landed interests, the apathy of the population in the old boroughs, and the growth of all sorts of restricted borough franchises which could be, and were, controlled by the crown and the nobility. Bribery was universal and unblushing, and the English electorate, composed so largely of country squires whose most serious interests were horse-racing and boxing matches, had sunk to its lowest ebb.

Out of such a political soil came the American colonists. That they brought with them, as they did, ideas of a closely limited suffrage is not to be wondered at; that they left behind them most of the bribery and corruption current in English life must forever be to their credit. While the whole fabric of English parliamentary and local government was in sad need of overhauling, while it was shot through with inconsistencies, injustices, and corruption, the colonists, nevertheless, brought with them the priceless heritage which still underlay English institutions—the tradition of political

* For an account of the reforms of 1832, see May, "*Constitutional History of England*," I, Ch. 6; for those of 1867 and 1885, Lowell, "*The Government of England*," I, Ch. 9; and Anson, "*Law and Custom of the Constitution*," I, Ch. 5.

liberty, the struggle to secure and extend which has been the main thread of English political history from King John and the barons at Runnimede to Lloyd-George and the passing of the House of Lords. And we consequently find that a not inconsiderable element in American colonial history is constituted by the continued and repeated efforts of the men of land and property to maintain their right to the franchise, against the efforts of the royal grantees and governors to deprive them of it, or to nullify its effects.

The government of the American colonies was very far, however, from what we should today call democratic. It is true that the colonists succeeded in acquiring and maintaining control over the public purse, a control which came down to our National Government in the form of the constitutional provision that all revenue bills must originate in the House of Representatives. (Art. I, Section 7); but the colonists were the offshoot of a people whose notions were not those of democracy, but of government by the "substantial" men of the country, and prior to the industrial revolution, which took place between 1776 and 1832, that was interpreted to mean government by the landed gentry. Whatever the final judgment of history may be with regard to the character of the colonists themselves, it is clear that they left the mother country at a time when political corruption was the accepted order of the day, when religious bigotry and nagging intolerance and persecution of non-conformists (especially Catho-

lics) was universal, and when the landed aristocracy, in league with the selfish intrenched special interests in the rotten boroughs were deliberately setting their face against any action looking toward the bringing order out of the confusion and justice out of the glaring inequities and iniquities of the English suffrage. Whether the colonists came as religious enthusiasts, or as most did, seeking economic opportunity under the wing of some trading company and royal grant, they brought with them no new, no radical, political theories. The Puritans, about whose championship of the cause of liberty so much has been said, had scarcely landed on the rocky shores of Massachusetts Bay before they manifested a religious bigotry not less conspicuous than that from which they "fled," for both Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth lost little time in declaring that "freemanship" in their corporation should not be granted to non-church members. This meant that only church members could vote for civil officers. Moreover, dissenters — Quakers, Baptists, and Catholics — were strictly excluded from the franchise and otherwise harshly treated. "Democracy," said Cotton, "I do not conceive that God ever did ordain as a fit Government either for Church or Commonwealth." * The colonists, religious prejudices apart, were not inspired by any noble belief in the average man. Everywhere

* For a discussion of religious restrictions in Massachusetts and Plymouth, see McKinley, *"Suffrage Franchise in the Colonies,"* Ch. II, and Bishop, *"History of Elections in the American Colonies,"* pp. 56-64.

the property qualification for the franchise was retained, and not infrequently made much more stringent than in England.

The history of suffrage in the colonies is complex and difficult to follow because of the variety of colonial charters, the conflicts between the people and the royal governors, and the diverse influence of conflicting religious and class interests. In Virginia, the oldest colony, manhood suffrage, it is true, at the very outset prevailed, but as soon as the colony began to be augmented by the working classes, who came in as indentured servants, the franchise was strictly limited to property owners, and remained so until the Revolution. In New York, to take another example, fifteen years elasped before there was a shadow of popular participation in the government of the colony. Not until 1688 was a truly representative assembly summoned, and then only on an extremely limited suffrage, and without any settled order of representation.* There was a long struggle for something like popular government. In 1683 it was finally enacted that "in all elections the majority of Voices shall carry it and by freeholders is understood everyone who is Soe understood according to the Lawes of England," a provision which was made more explicit by an act of 1691, which declared that "by freeholders is to be understood every one who shall have fourty-shillings per annum in freehold." †

* See McKinley, p. 196.

† Quoted by McKinley, pp. 200 and 210.

Thus the recognized English qualification was inserted bodily into colonial law. In 1699 this forty-shilling freehold requirement was changed, and thereafter the elector must possess lands or tenements to the value of forty pounds. Moreover New York excluded Catholics from the franchise, in 1701, and Jews in 1737, though it is uncertain whether either restriction was strictly enforced. The local suffrage varied greatly from time to time and place to place, but generally speaking, only inhabitant freeholders could vote.

The same narrow franchise is found in Maryland. In the early years of the colony, as in Virginia, manhood suffrage without regard to residence, payment of taxes, or possession of land, was exercised, but this gave way in 1670 to a requirement of fifty acres of land or other estate worth at least forty pounds. This qualification remained in force until the Revolution, as did also a remarkable provision for compulsory voting, in the shape of a fine of 100 pounds of tobacco upon any qualified male who without good excuse neglected to vote. Maryland also excluded Catholics (who had founded the colony!) in 1654, 1689, and again in 1718.

In North Carolina no definite suffrage provisions were in force for the first fifty years. In 1715 suffrage was granted to all white tax-paying freemen over twenty years old. Later, owing to pressure from royal governors, a land qualification (fifty acres freehold) was added and remained in force until the Revolution. In South Carolina frequent elections and the use of bal-

lots and ballot boxes contributed to an unexpectedly liberal suffrage, in spite of a variety of changing property and tax-payment qualifications. Here too, however, Catholics were excluded.

In Pennsylvania the general requirement, both in colonial and local elections, was the possession of fifty acres of land or other estate worth £50. Delaware's franchise was similar, with a fine for neglecting to vote added. The condition of affairs in Pennsylvania is vividly suggested by McKinley: "From 1706 onward the interest in the suffrage in Pennsylvania centers not in the electors but in the masses of non-voters, who, legally disqualified, used every possible means to influence the elections. One sees them frequently in the background of the election picture with sticks or stones or even 'billets of wood,' instead of the forbidden ballots, trying by physical means to express their opinions. From this point of view the ruling class they are 'servants,' or 'great numbers of disorderly persons,' or an 'outrageous Multitude,' who by their 'rude and disorderly behaviour,' disturb the elections, or who 'presumed to vote when they did not have the right to do so.'" *

Space does not permit even a bare outline of the evolution of the suffrage in the other colonies. Let us merely summarize the various kinds of qualifications that existed during colonial times and formed the basis upon which the suffrage requirements of the origi-

* McKinley, p. 284.

nal thirteen state constitutions were based. The colonial restrictions included sex, age, race, and nationality, religion, good character, residence, property, freemanship in corporations, and certain qualifications akin to the borough franchise in England. The sex restriction was universal, except in New Jersey, where in colonial times it seems that at least a few prominent women voted. It was not thought necessary, usually, specifically to exclude women, although this was done by a Virginia statute in 1699. South Carolina, Georgia, and Delaware also definitely excluded women. The age limit was twenty-one years, except in Massachusetts which, in 1647, set it at twenty-four. Negroes were barred in some of the southern colonies, though at comparatively late dates, but in the northern colonies they were generally permitted to vote if they could fulfil the qualifications as to freemanship, property, etc. The English common law principle that no foreigner could exercise political rights was adopted by the colonies. After 1740 Parliament forbade the naturalization of any Catholic aliens in the colonies — a policy which New York and Massachusetts had already adopted. Religious qualifications, as we should expect, were more rigidly enforced and were more exclusive in New England than elsewhere. Massachusetts, as we have seen, required church membership as a basis of citizenship, and after 1664 the few new freemen admitted were obliged to present certificates from the ministers of their towns,

certifying that they were orthodox in their belief. Even Connecticut, in practice if not in law, appears to have enforced religious conformity. Particular sects were outlawed, as the Quakers in the middle of the seventeenth century, from Virginia to Massachusetts (with the exception of Rhode Island). Baptists fared little better and Catholics fared worst. The attitude toward them in New England was always hostile. In other colonies it varied with the changes in English politics. Jews were disfranchised almost as frequently as Catholics. Good character qualifications were common in New England but elsewhere unusual. Residence requirements were rarely made in New England, because of the fact that before a man could settle in a town he had to get the consent of the authorities. The most important and characteristic limitation was the property qualification. During the seventeenth century it was either expressly provided for or implied in the laws and customs of many of the colonies and in the eighteenth century such a requirement was universal.

In addition to the foregoing requirements some of the colonies had restrictions on the admission of freemen to citizenship which virtually amounted to further restriction on the suffrage. The candidate for admission might be required to pass a period of probation, to take certain oaths, to present a certificate of moral and property qualifications, etc. The most remarkable of all the franchise requirements was found in Rhode

Island where, after 1723, the political power of the freeman-freeholder included not only himself but his oldest son as well, if he were of age. The son, that is, was admitted to the town and colonial franchise by hereditary right, as was the case in the borough franchise in certain English towns. In the colonial towns almost as wide a variety of qualifications for the local franchise could be found as in the English boroughs. And in addition to all the other types of franchise the president and six teachers in one American college (William and Mary, in Virginia) had by right of their office the right to vote for members of the house of burgesses — thus duplicating the English University franchise.

At best only a small proportion of the male adult population had the right to vote. "In general," says McKinley, "the potential voters seem to vary from one-sixth to one-fiftieth of the population, and the actual voters show an almost equal variation; Massachusetts and Connecticut showing at times only two per cent of actual voters among a population where perhaps sixteen per cent were qualified electors; and New York City and Virginia showing the far larger proportion of eight per cent of the population as actual voters. At best the colonial elections called forth both relatively and absolutely only a small fraction of the present percentage of voters. Property qualifications, poor means of communication, large election districts, and the absence of party organization combined to make

the most sharply contested elections feeble in their effects upon the community as compared with the widespread suffrage of the twentieth century." *

During the eighteenth century economic changes in the colonies were comparatively slight, immigration small, and the westward growth of population slow. The stimulus was yet lacking to a vigorous movement for suffrage extension, and we need not be surprised to find that at the time of the ratification of our Federal Constitution no state had manhood suffrage. Nor was representation anywhere in ratio to population, but to taxpayers, or freeholders, or the number of electors in the county or district. During the Revolution, says McMaster, no principle of popular government had been more loudly proclaimed than the great truth that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Yet most of the early state constitutions took over the suffrage qualifications of the colonial era. "The government set up by many a constitution, despite the principle announced in its preamble was that of a class. Nowhere save in Vermont did manhood suffrage exist. Elsewhere no man voted who did not pay a property tax, or rent a house, or own a specified number of acres of land, or have a specified yearly income. Each one of the state constitutions guaranteed liberty of conscience; but the man who did not exercise that liberty of conscience in such wise as to become a Protestant or a Catholic, a trinitarian or a

* McKinley, "*Suffrage Franchise in the Colonies*," pp. 487-488.

believer in the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testament must give up all hope of political preferment. Even to such as could subscribe to creeds and doctrines, the way to public office was barred by property qualifications, which increased with the dignity of the office until it became absolutely impossible for a poor man to become a candidate for the state senate or the governorship." *

Thus for years after the Revolution the qualifications for office holding were even more stringent than for the franchise. The country was slow to change this system. Massachusetts, in 1821, when it removed the property test from others, retained it as a qualification for candidates for the state senate. So, too, for years no atheist, freethinker, Jew, or Catholic could be governor in New Jersey, New Hampshire, Connecticut, or Vermont. Any Christian could be governor of Massachusetts or Maryland. Elsewhere he must be a believer in an inspired Bible, or in heaven and hell, or acknowledge one God. In four states no priest or clergyman could hold political office. Some states required of their governors not only religious qualifications, but ownership of wealth in amounts ranging from $100 to $10,000. In a number of states there were heavy property qualifications for membership in one or both houses of the legislature.†

* McMaster, *"History of the People of the United States,"* V. pp. 376-377.

† McMaster, III, pp. 147-149.

That these diverse and aristocratic qualifications could persist after the formation of our Federal Union was due to the fact that the Constitution left suffrage regulation to the states, with the single proviso that all state governments should be republican in form. (Art. IV, Sec. 4.) It also provided (Art. I, Sec. 2) that the electors of the Federal House of Representatives should have the same qualification in any state as the electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature. Such freedom for the states to widen suffrage if they pleased was distasteful to ardent Federalists like Hamilton, but the framers of the Constitution knew from the temper of the people that any restriction of the suffrage by the central government would lead to a rejection of the proposed constitution.*

A number of powerful influences coöperated after 1789 to the gradual removal of the old suffrage restrictions. The philosophy of the French Revolution — liberty, equality, fraternity — was having powerful effect in this country, especially through the Jeffersonian Democrats. Everywhere the rights of men were contrasted to the political disabilities under which a large part of the male populace was laboring. The demand for popular government became irresistible. One state after another, in spite of the opposition of the propertied classes and to some extent of educated people, abolished property and religious qualifications. To this result contributed the development of transportation

* Cf. Smith, "*Spirit of American Government.*"

facilities, the opening of new lands to settlement, the general equality of economic opportunity afforded by a new country awakening to its resources, and to a new national consciousness. No doubt also the development of political parties, bidding against each other for votes, helped the movement along. So also did the growth of towns and industrial centers in which the old land qualifications were doubly irksome.

Reform was the order of the day from 1790 to 1800. Within these ten years at least eight states materially broadened their suffrage and office-holding rights. The religious qualification was first to go, in Pennsylvania, and then in South Carolina, New Hampshire, Delaware, and Georgia. Property tests were taken off in New Hampshire and Kentucky, and reduced in some other states. The second decade of our national history was preëminently a period of state constitution making. The movement toward universal manhood suffrage continued unabated, though making headway against the opposition of the privileged classes. The property test was abolished in Maryland in 1801 and 1809, in New York and Massachusetts in 1821, and later in Tennessee (1834), New Jersey (1844), Connecticut (1845), and in Virginia not until 1850. By the opening of the Civil War only a few belated states still required some property qualification. In South Carolina it was abolished in 1865, in North Carolina in 1854 and 1868. The taxpaying requirement was abolished in New York in 1826, in Mississippi in 1882

(established in 1862), in Louisiana in 1845, Ohio in 1851, and in Virginia, where it had been imposed in 1862, in 1882. The dates are in themselves of little consequence, but taken collectively they are significant indications of the slowness with which the theory of the rights of man and of "universal" suffrage was actually put into the laws of the country. In many cases, of course, the old restrictive laws had become practically inoperative long before they disappeared from the statute books, but the extension of the suffrage was subject to bitter opposition, especially in the East. The history of the long struggle for manhood suffrage in New York, where the removal of the property test was vigorously opposed by Chancellor Kent, one of the greatest of American jurists, and in Massachusetts, where Daniel Webster opposed the removal of a property qualification for candidates to the state senate, is full of interest * and vividly suggestive of some of the aristocratic forebodings expressed by a certain class of people nowadays at the thought of extending the suffrage to women.

In other ways the preponderant trend of political thought toward democracy was manifest. Various states abandoned the old indirect method of electing the governor through the legislature, and South Carolina and Maryland, which had had an indirect method of electing their senates, abandoned it in 1778 and

* See McMaster, "*History of the People of the United States,*" V, Ch. 50.

1837, respectively. But, on the other hand, the influence of the Federal Constitution despite the fact that it was haled as a most democratic instrument was away from, rather than toward, actual democracy. The fact that the states, under their original constitution or charters, which gave the legislatures great powers, had had, with limited suffrage, some unfortunate experiences with their legislatures made them all the more likely to imitate, in their constitutional revisions, the cumbersome system of checks and balances and the rigid separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which constituted the most original feature in the Federal Constitution, and which have since proved to be its greatest defect. The states proceeded to increase the power of the governor and of the courts to nullify legislation, and to throw about the legislatures all sorts of constitutional limitations. Such limitations were perhaps necessary under the conditions of the time, but how far they may go toward nullifying popular government has not been realized until recent years.*

Before the Civil War, then, the old landed aristocracy ideals which had dominated colonial thought and practice, the old intrusion of religious bigotry into matters of state, the limitations, tests, and indirections by

* A suggestive book on the aristocratic elements in American constitutions is J. A. Smith's *"The Spirit of American Government,"* 1907. Cf. also H. Croly's *"Promise of American Life,"* 1909.

which the propertied classes had effectually excluded the masses from a voice in government, were swept away, though not without a struggle, before the doctrine of the rights of man and the resistless logic of American economic conditions, where free land and substantial equality of economic opportunity meant the melting away of the old class lines which had been the inheritance of English polity and English social organization. It is probable as has been suggested (Smith, "Spirit of American Government") that the property qualifications would not have been removed without a more serious opposition had it not appeared that the wide diffusion of landed property would be in some measure a guarantee that the interests of the propertied classes would not be seriously endangered by manhood suffrage. Had the privileged classes foreseen clearly that within half a century a vast mass of the population would be virtually without taxable property they would probably have presented a more united front against the radical extension of the suffrage. As it was, the democratic movement, hampered by the eternal discussion of slavery, and broken in upon by the Civil War, did not move clearly and smoothly enough to see its own logic and consequently did not attain vigor enough to extend the suffrage to women and it would not have given it, even nominally, to negroes had sectional feeling after the war not produced an abnormal state of public sentiment in the North.

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CAPTIVITY'S CAPTIVE.

Woman Tied to Money Bags Showing Economic Dependence.

The doctrine of the rights of man, except in the minds of the hated abolitionists, did not extend to negroes. Outside of New England, where by law in five states negroes could vote, there was no state in the Union in 1865 which did not discriminate against the negro. Tennessee granted a restricted suffrage.* New York, by its constitution of 1821 and 1846 while extending the suffrage to all adult white males, subjected negroes to a practically prohibitive property qualification, and as late as 1860 it refused negroes equal political rights with whites by a vote of 338,000 to 198,000. Several states which had earlier allowed negroes to vote withdrew the privilege. They could vote everywhere before the revolution except in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia,† but before 1834 they had been disfranchised in Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky, and all the acts of Congress establishing territories before the Civil War expressly reserved the suffrage to whites, as did also the constitution of West Virginia in 1863. After the war we might expect to see race discrimination disappearing from the northern states. On the contrary the constitution of the new state of Nebraska, in 1866, denied negroes the right to vote, and negro suffrage was voted down by decisive majorities in Connecticut, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. In the latter state, however, the state supreme

* Stephenson, "*Race Distinctions in American Law*," p. 284.

† Bishop, "*History of Elections in the American Colonies*," pp. 51-52.

court, in 1866, held that suffrage had been granted the negroes by popular vote in 1849.* In 1868 once more negro suffrage was voted down in New York, this time by a close margin. On the other hand, Minnesota reversed its previous vote and extended the franchise to negroes in 1868, as did Iowa and Dakotah Territory. Congress, in 1867, granted the suffrage to negroes in the District of Columbia, although the white males of Washington had rejected the extension by a vote of 6,521 to 35. In 1866 Congress granted negro suffrage in the territories.

Then followed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment conferred citizenship on the negro and provided that any state abridging the rights of male citizens to vote should suffer a reduction in its congressional representation. This was a device to get the southern states to enfranchise the blacks, but none of them took the bait and, feeling running higher in the North, both inside and outside Congress, the Fifteenth Amendment, conferring the right to vote on negro men, was passed and forced upon the South at the point of the bayonet — whether justly or unjustly, wisely or otherwise, we need not here attempt to say. It is significant, however, that in 1870 when the amend-

* Stephenson, "*Race Distinctions in American Law*," p. 288; F. E. Baker, "*Brief History of the Elective Franchise in Wisconsin*," in Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. 41, p. 125.

ment was ratified the constitutions of sixteen northern states, from Connecticut to California, still denied the negro the right to vote. That race prejudice is not the peculiar characteristic of any one section or any one time is vividly proved by the fact that the people of Ohio in the year of our Lord 1912 voted down an amendment providing for the removal of the word "white" from the state constitution.

The Civil War, the stress of Reconstruction, and the determination of radical northern leaders, like Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, that the negro should be enfranchised at all costs, and the fact that the struggle in Congress and in the South turned public attention away from everything else, inevitably put a stop for many years to any effective agitation for the enfranchisement of women. Everywhere the advocates of women's rights were met, even by their friends, with the consoling sentiment, "This is the negro's hour;" and so the women, patience being the badge of all their tribe, had to wait.

The southern white voters have found ways in recent years to nullify the effect of the Fifteenth Amendment and to disfranchise the negro anew; today, in consequence, a body of educational and property qualifications stand in the constitution of the southern states —practically the only serious limitations on manhood suffrage in this country. Practically all the states, it is true, both north and south, deny the vote to insane persons, idiots, and to certain kinds of criminals, and

Chinese not born in this country are excluded from the franchise by interpretation of the Constitution. Fifteen or twenty states deny the vote to paupers. One state, Rhode Island, has a nominal property qualification (ownership of $134 worth of property) in municipal elections. In the Philippines the government has also imposed a property test. Six northern states, Hawaii, and the Philippines, have a literacy test — usually the ability to read the Constitution, and in some the ability to write one's name. None of these limitations, except those in the Philippines, are to be taken seriously. All the states have the necessary provisions concerning naturalization, residence, and registration. In the South the state of affairs is entirely different, for literacy and property qualifications are not only widespread but they are enforced. They were enacted and are administered for the express purpose of disfranchising the negroes, while yet abiding by the letter of the Fifteenth Amendment, and at the same time not excluding whites. No better illustration could be found of the futility of attempting important legislation ahead of, and in opposition to, strong public sentiment than the way the attempt of the North to force negro suffrage on the South has been frustrated by the southern whites. As long as the Federal troops were kept in the South the negro voters were voted in droves by the northern carpetbaggers and southern scalawags, but as soon as the military power was withdrawn the southern whites took mat-

ters into their own hands and by fraud, intimidation, and violence succeeded in driving most of the negroes permanently from the polls. About 1890 the South began to be dissatisfied with this state of affairs and since then one southern state after another has succeeded in putting very effective legal barriers in the way of negroes voting. Debarred by the Fifteenth Amendment from directly imposing race qualifications, the southern whites have accomplished the same end by property and educational qualifications and by the so-called "grandfather clauses."

Alabama requires the ownership of forty acres of land, or $300 worth of taxable property (or that the voter be the husband of the owner of such property), or the ability to read the Constitution in English; Georgia, forty acres or $500 worth of property, or the ability to read and write the Constitution of the United States or of Georgia; and Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, similar tests; Mississippi and North Carolina have only the literary test. All the southern states require the payment of poll taxes, and some the payment of all taxes, as a qualification for voting. The property test is always an alternative to the educational test, so that a man who cannot get in under one, may do so under the other. Neither the property, nor taxpaying, nor educational qualifications can be objected to on constitutional grounds because they apply to whites as well as to blacks. Nevertheless it is evident that they disfranchise many more negroes

than whites. The South had no intention of improving the calibre of the electorate by excluding illiterate whites. Its design was, and is, to include as many whites, and to exclude as many blacks, as possible. To this end the grandfather clause was invented. The principle of the grandfather clause is simple; it provides an exception to the application of the literacy and property tests. One who is not able to satisfy either of these tests may, nevertheless, continue to be a voter for life if he was a voter in 1867, or is an old soldier, or a lineal descendant of such voter or soldier, provided he registers before a certain date provided for by law. (Stephenson, *"Race Distinctions in American Law,"* p. 305.) Grandfather clauses have been enacted in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia. No negroes had the vote in the South in 1867, and comparatively few of them were soldiers. It is evident, therefore, that this device lets in the illiterate whites and excludes the negroes; but it is not technically a race distinction.

Five southern states also have so-called "character and understanding clauses," which still further reduce the likelihood of a negro getting a chance to vote. These clauses are also designed to provide exceptions to the property tests. In Mississippi the voter may demonstrate his ability to understand the state constitution when read to him. In Georgia he must understand "the duties of a citizen in a republican form of government." Since the election authorities are in-

variably white men, it is not difficult to see what an effective means of discriminating against the negro these tests afford.

How many negroes are actually kept from the polls by these various laws it is hard to say. Stephenson cites a typical Mississippi county with a population of 11,700 negroes, only thirty of whom were registered voters. Another county in North Carolina, with a population of 6,700 negroes is said never to have had a negro vote cast. In Louisiana the number of negro votes was reduced from 130,000 to 5,300. The colored electors number not more than 10 per cent of the adult males.* Thousands of negroes are kept away from the poles by latent fear and desire not to come into conflict with white sentiment. The writer knows a number of educated southern negroes who have never tried to vote for this reason. The simple fact is that politics plays very little part in the mental life of the southern negro. One principal of a large negro industrial school—a prominent graduate of Tuskegee—when asked the name of the governor of his state was obliged to say that he could not remember.

We have seen that the extension of the suffrage in America was due to the conditions of American life and to the theory of natural rights—a theory ardently applied to political life in opposition to the older doctrine of privilege and class which was the theoretical

* Bryce, "*The American Commonwealth,*" Rev. ed., II, pp. 545-546.

basis of the old limited suffrage. We may profitably examine these two theories briefly.

The natural rights theory holds that suffrage is an inherent right of man, like the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. As taxation without representation is tyranny, so all just government is based upon the consent of the governed. This formal theory of suffrage as an absolute right has been given up, because suffrage is legally the gift of the state and it is impossible to support the theory by any logic that will stand criticism. It has had to go by the board along with the whole philosophy of a "state of nature," "natural law," and "natural" right, long since discarded. The argument for universal suffrage is now based on grounds of duty and expediency and of social justice, rather than on the idea of either "natural" or "divine" law; but the *feeling* that somehow we are cheated if we do not have universal suffrage will doubtless continue to exist as long as personality is not repressed by tyranny, political or social; for no individual likes to admit that he is incapable of a voice in determining the conditions under which he must live. It is a good thing that such is the case; otherwise we should too easily sink into lethargic submission to stale inefficiency and flat tyranny in government. Reason may support any limitation on suffrage which it is in the power of normal individuals to remove, but any permanent qualification like sex or race cannot but in the long run be degrading both

to the favored and to the excluded classes. That the natural rights theory has been abandoned is due not only to the impossibility of defending it by any formal logic, but also to the facts that manhood suffrage is an accomplished fact, and that political science — a judgment of governments by their observed results and needs — has taken the place of *a priori* political philosophy.

The second theory — that suffrage is a privilege — is as old as representative government. In its more brutal beginnings it simply expresses the belief of the ruling classes that the masses are unworthy of attention except as soldiers and a source of taxes and that government and wealth, rank, and military power should go hand in hand. In its more refined form the theory holds that all government is a matter of expediency, that it is inexpedient to grant suffrage to all adults — even all adult men — because that would admit classes to the franchise who, through ignorance or vice, would not use it for the public welfare. The privilege theory assumes unconsciously that society is sharply divided into classes and that the privileged classes — those with wealth, education, or social position — are more devoted in spirit and in deed to the public welfare than are the so-called "lower" classes. It attributes a benevolence and beneficence to the privileged classes which they have not shown themselves always to possess.

The adherents to this theory argue that people with-

out property should not be allowed to vote, especially in cities, because they will vote away the taxes paid by other people; and only taxpayers should determine the disposition of public funds. This argument overlooks both the fact that non-taxpayers may have just as good judgment on public issues involving the expenditure of money as taxpayers, and that most people are taxpayers indirectly, if not directly, since a large part of the burden of taxation is shifted to the consumers of taxed goods and the occupants of taxed dwelling houses. It is argued also that only the educated should really participate in government, since they are the only ones who know enough. As well argue that only church-members have religion. Very many of the matters with which government has to deal are matters upon which intelligence can be had only through experience; many an educated man today is a poorer citizen than many a laborer. It is not unlikely that to turn government over to an aristocracy of property and education would be disastrous to public welfare. While both these classes think they would be unselfish and broad-minded in the administration of public affairs, experience shows that to no class do the interests of other classes or of society in general loom anything like so large as its own immediate interests. "The world has tried the aristocratic idea for thousands of years," says a recent writer, "and worked out a demonstration that in folly, in inhumanity, in tyrannous spirit, in avarice and selfishness, in intellectual

and moral childishness, the rule of the 'better' people has been on the whole as conspicuous a disappointment, at least, as anything to be feared under the name of democracy." *

Every democratic movement inevitably calls out and crystallizes the interests whose special privileges are jeopardized by it. So it is at the present time when a world-wide movement for political and industrial democracy is in progress. Beaten back from every other position, the opponents of the extension of the franchise to women, and in other countries to the men not yet enfranchised, fall back upon the doctrine of limited suffrage as the only "safe" system. Their cry is that the suffrage is already much too wide and that the true line of reform lies in educational and property tests.

In support of this view, the failure of manhood suffrage is alleged. Unfortunately Jeffersonian Democracy, which introduced the idea of popular government into America, was followed by Jacksonian Democracy, which, with good motives perhaps, prostituted popular government to local, selfish, and party ends. The misapplication of the rights of man gave us the spoils system, rotation in office, and the disastrous notion that anybody is fit to hold public office, if he can get it. Out of Jacksonian influence and out of the blind and dogged complacence of Americans in the belief that theirs was the one country with good

* Cf. Dole, "*The Spirit of Democracy*," p. 111.

government, and their consequent failure to note how our governmental machinery was falling behind our complex needs, came the semi-valid basis for the argument that manhood suffrage has been a failure. The dire inefficiency of American city government, the corruption of city councils and state legislatures, the sometimes seemingly hopeless subserviency of Congress to the large financial interests, the ubiquity of the political boss, of machine rule, and bipartisan alliances, all tending to give the voter the semblance of power while the substance remains in the hands of the professional (and usually corrupt) politicians — all this is brought forward as proof that male democracy in America is a failure, and that a full democracy, including women as well as men, will only make things worse.

On the face of things, this argument has much cogency. American city government is far less efficient and honest than the municipal governments of England, France, or Germany. Moreover, the widespread use of money for corrupt purposes, until recently without let or hindrance by law, has had no parallel in Western Europe for many years. But it may be doubted whether state legislatures and Congress have been more dominated by the special interests (trusts, railroads, etc.) than have the European parliaments by the landed proprietors and the big manufacturing interests there, under a system of limited suffrage.

Moreover, before we bring too sweeping a verdict

against American manhood suffrage, we should examine fairly the conditions under which it has had to work, the effects of American self-complacency in matters politic, and the probability that the American people are just now awakening to the fact that two things are necessary to the proper working of any form of republican government — namely, a political machinery that will render representatives really representative of public opinion, and an adequately alert public opinion led by able, honest, broad-minded, and informed men and women.

The central cause of the failure of American democracy to bring the perfect results hoped for has been the extreme rapidity with which we have developed a very intricate and complex economic and industrial state. Similar rapid transformation in some particulars has taken place in England and Germany, but those countries have had many conditions conducive to stability and orderly growth which we have lacked, as well as some obstacles to progress which have not bothered us. Manhood suffrage was established in America when all our life — economic, moral, political — was comparatively simple, when agriculture was the one great industry, when great corporations, concentrated control of money and credit, sinister railroad influence, and fabulous extremes of riches and poverty were non-existent, when social life was simple, when it did not require a long line of court decisions to distinguish nicely between what is just legally

permissible and what is not, in the conduct of business, and when the tasks of local and state government were comparatively simple and unchanging, so that any set of honest officials could perform them adequately. In the 30's and 40's when there were no intricate questions of public utility franchises, of taxation of corporations, incomes and inheritances, of regulating interstate commerce, conserving natural resources, or securing peace and justice between great employing corporations and millions of organized and unorganized working men, women, and children, government was relatively an unimportant matter. The Jacksonian régime proclaimed the spoils to the victors and set in motion the rotation in office which on the one hand prevented the development of an ossified bureaucracy, and on the other kept the best men out of office, intensified partisanship, encouraged corruption, and prevented the development of skill in American governmental offices; but so long as the country consisted largely of simple farming communities, so long as the forms of wealth and of industrial organization were not diverse, and massed capital had not developed to corrupt legislatures and city councils and exploit the land and the people, the Jacksonian ideas did little harm. Just as soon, however, as these industrial developments did take place on a large scale — beginning soon after the Civil War — the results were bound to be disastrous, because the people were long in awakening to the fact that they had the form of popular government without

its substance, and because the greater the necessity for the government to interfere with private and corporate business, to protect the people, the greater the tendency for the special interests to corrupt the agents of the people and get them to betray their trust. This is the origin of such powerful alliances between big business and corrupt political rings as have disgraced time and again the great commonwealths of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, California, and little states like Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland. The system of rotation in office made politics a sort of game for high stakes, and the patronage system prostituted politics from the service of the state to the service of party, to secure jobs for party workers. So politics becomes a profession — a degraded one — with its tricks of the trade, its recognized rules, its unscrupulous intrigue, and a lack of real and intelligent devotion to the best interests of community, state, and nation.*

Down to the late 80's, an independent voter was practically unheard of, and scratching a party ticket was for many years after that a heinous offense in the eyes of "practical" politicians. Every effort was made to intensify party loyalty and there are still hundreds of thousands of men who are voting straight party tickets because this old party discipline has become an

* Perhaps the best exposition of the methods of the political boss is Henry Champernowne's (pseudonym) *"The Boss,"* a parody on Machiavelli's *"The Prince."*

ingrained habit, and no good thing can, for them, come out of the opposition party.

Meanwhile, to this slavish partisanship, so skillfully fostered by the machine politician, must be added a nomination machinery which gradually broke down and virtually threw the power of choice, from president to justice of the peace, into the hands of the inner party rings. One way to judge any form of government is to observe the kind of men it puts in office. Jefferson said, "There is a natural aristocracy founded on talent and virtue which seems destined to govern all societies and all political forms, and the best government is that which provides most efficiently for the purity of the choosing of these natural aristocracies and their introduction into government." * American political democracy has signally failed to do this, and the reasons for its failure lie, partly at least, in the inadequacy of the nominating machinery. For it makes no difference what are the safeguards of secret ballot, registration, and public information with regard to the qualifications of nominated candidates, if the voter has little or no intelligent share in saying who shall be the candidates in the first place.

Party government without some initial means of naming party candidates would be impossible. The time-honored method in this country, until within very recent years, since the direct primary election has largely superseded it, was the party caucus. Originally

* Works, IX, p. 425.

MRS. LUCY STONE

Founder in 1870 of *"The Woman's Journal"*

the caucus was a secret meeting of the leading men of the party in the locality. By the time of the Revolution it was pretty well established and was losing its secret character and becoming a miniature town meeting. In New England, except in the cities, the caucus retained its original town-meeting character to our time, but elsewhere it became "a mere polling place for the election of delegates to the various conventions and of members of the local party committees, there being no opportunity whatever for any discussion of the merits of the various candidates." The inevitable result was that the real work of nomination "fell either into the hands of 'parlor caucuses' or of political clubs and committees — the power of the individual voter being restricted to the choice between candidates agreed upon at such preliminary secret conferences or named by such organizations." * From about 1832 on there was for each party an established system of local caucuses, and county, state, and national conventions. Delegates to the county conventions were chosen by the local caucus, and so on. Now, so long as the community was industrially undeveloped and there was a fair amount of social equality and all the members of the party locally were acquaintances, the caucus or "primary" could work well — but when increase of population brought with it the loss of that personal acquaintance, when different nationalities came in to intensify

* Dallinger, *"Nominations for Elective Office in the United States,"* p. 12.

clannish prejudices, when inequality of wealth and social position and "pressure of business" gave excuse for the more fastidious "gentlemen" to avoid contact with rough men at these informal meetings, the time was ripe for the advent of the wire pullers and the bosses. And they came. Slates were fixed up beforehand and jammed through by those who had direct personal interest in the election. Thus from the local primary to the great national conventions the selection of candidates fell into the hands of cliques and rings; the politically most subservient and "available" man was made the party's candidate, and the average voter accepted the results with equanimity, because he had always had his vanity tickled by the idea that he was "a sovereign," had been bred to think that all the good men were in his party and all the bad in the opposition. The informed voter had nothing to do but stay away from the polls or hold his nose and vote in disgust for the least corrupt and unfit candidate the bosses deigned to put on the tickets. Occasionally a wave of popular reform sentiment would sweep over the community and the bosses would temporarily bow before it and nominate a good man or two, who, after election, would find themselves helpless to accomplish anything for good government. Thus, because the nominating system had its origin among those who had most interest in elections and could work only when someone took the lead, and because the bulk of the "substantial citizens" were too busily engaged in mak-

ing money to bother about politics, politics inevitably became corrupt and boss-ridden; and that in the face of social and economic conditions which more than ever before demanded honesty, efficiency, adaptability, skill, and devotion to public welfare on the part of all public office-holders. On the one hand were the bosses and their henchmen, in politics for spoils; on the other the masses of voters, more or less apathetic, and the industrial powers and financial interests constantly seeking by the shortest route to get valuable concessions from city councils, legislatures, and Congress. The result was inevitable, followed quickly and has lasted till the present moment — corruption, deep-seated, widespread, and persistent. For if the bosses controlled nominations, the "interests" controlled the bosses. The course of development is graphically stated by Professor E. A. Ross: "The transformation of popular government into government by special interests presents four stages: First, ordinary 'political' legislators or officials are influenced or bought for specific purposes. This is the era of lobby and bribe. Second, scenting 'easy money' vultures work their way into public life, form a 'combine' and sell legislation for what they can get. This is the stage of boodle. Third, financed by the Interests the party machines send up 'safe' men who will vote as they are told on bills affecting corporations. These Hessians, however, improve their opportunities to make something for themselves, and their unbridled greed brings scandal on

the régime. This is the epoch of blackmail and petty graft. Fourth, the Interests, falling gradually into a system, cease to be customers of the bosses. They own them and are able to grow their own legislatures. This brings into politics the more respectable type that scorns miscellaneous graft and takes his reward in business favors or professional connections. The big Interests will even sacrifice the vice Interests by clapping 'the lid' on the saloon and dive and race track. This decent conduct of public affairs, free from the odium of grafting and blackmail, is known as 'good government' and is the fine flower of perfected commercial oligarchy."*

To these basic causes for the seeming failure of manhood suffrage — preoccupation with economic affairs and a nominating system that plays into the hands of the gamesters and big interests — add the influx of European immigrants, swelling the electorate by an enormous number of men without political experience, untutored in American ideals, greedy for material gain, and easy prey to calculating and corrupting politicians; add, too, the peculiarities of our American constitutional system which tend to make government slow to respond to changes in public opinion, which tend to rob the majority of ability to carry out its plans and purposes, the power of the courts to nullify desirable as well as undesirable legislation, the control of the Senate by the Interests, the cumbersome committee system in

* "*Independent*," July, 1906, p. 125.

the House, the late meeting of the new Congress after a change of administration; in state legislatures, the election of untrained men to legislative tasks, and the filling of state and local administrative offices by party henchmen; and in municipalities, until recently, the hampering influence of a form of government borrowed from state and federal constitutions and eminently unsuited to local needs, the lack of home rule, and the obstructive tactics of state legislatures:—add all these conditions and the only ground on which manhood suffrage can be said to have been something of a failure is that it failed, under the stress of most complex and rapidly changing conditions, to provide an adequate machinery for real representative government. That it did fail in that is not to be wondered at when all the conditions are taken into account, and especially when we remember how much more rapid industrial development has been in this country in the past fifty years than it is likely to be in the future, and that it has taken up a disproportionate amount of attention and made the securing of a government machinery adequate to handle ever new and ever changing conditions extremely difficult. We should remember that since 1870 this country has gone through an economic revolution as sweeping in the effects as the industrial revolution in England within the 18th century. We should not demand that democracy, hitherto untried in all the world's history, should in the 19th century alone have worked out a perfectly flexible, perfectly adaptable, perfectly

functionizing machinery and method. That would simply be asking the superhuman.

Many critics of American democracy justly hold that no political machinery, however carefully devised to exclude the influence of the bosses and money power, will produce good government unless the electorate be alive, alert, intelligent, informed, and willing to devote time to attending primaries and elections, and unless the more capable members of the community can be got to run for office. This is true, but it is foolish on the other hand, to demand of democracy that it produce good government through forms of political procedure which palpably play directly into the hands of big business, vested interests, intrenched vice, and political subserviency. Aside from the prosecution of a notorious crew of political pirates here and there (like the Tweed ring in New York in the 70's, and the council ring in St. Louis in the 90's) the American people on the whole were for many years both indifferent and helpless before widespread legislative corruption and administrative inefficiency. Two reforms of great value were, however, instituted during the 80's and early 90's — the establishment of the Australian ballot system and of civil service reform. The essentials of the Australian ballot system are (1) officially printed ballots and (2) a procedure in voting which prevents anyone from knowing how any voter has voted unless he himself chooses to tell. The system was introduced in Australia in 1856 and in Canada shortly after-

ward. It was given a trial in certain towns in England in 1869 and 1872 and, soon after, adopted in all Parliament elections. Agitation for it did not begin in the United States until 1885. It was introduced in Massachusetts in 1888, in Indiana in 1889, and proved so successful in reducing intimidation and open corruption that by 1895 it had spread to practically all the states. Procedure under it is by no means uniform, as some states print the names of all candidates (arranged variously), on one large "blanket" ballot, while others print a separate ballot for each party. The form of the ballot is a very important detail, since it goes far toward inducing or discouraging independent voting ("scratching the ticket").*

It made little difference, however, now secret the ballot was when, on the one hand, the machine politicians did all the nominating, and on the other, all administrative officers, from the president's cabinet down to the porter in the county courthouse, were appointed to office not on a basis of fitness but purely for political services to the party coming into power. The situation having become intolerable, Congress in 1883 created the Civil Service Commission and paved the way for the merit system in place of the old system of spoils and patronage. Much remains to be done, especially in placing the higher federal offices under civil service rules. About 9,000 of these officials are now

* See C. L. Jones, Readings on *"Parties and Elections in the United States,"* Ch. 8.

subject to presidential appointment (the senate confirming). Much remains to be done in extending civil service in state and city government; but it now seems certain that public opinion has definitely awakened to the iniquity and extravagance of the spoils system and the near future will see the end of the old ideas that anyone can fill a public office and that public office should be the reward for party service. Until that time does come, one indispensable condition to the success of popular government will be lacking. Jeffersonian and not Jacksonian principles express true democracy.

The turning point in the evolution of American political ideas may be said to have coincided with the publication of James Bryce's "American Commonwealth," in 1888. Not till someone had shown us our political institutions with the perspective and disinterested good will of an acute outside observer of judicial mind and philosophical power, could we be jarred out of our self-complacency and begin to give up the old glittering claptrap of the stump patriot and the noise and blare of torch-light campaign pageantry, for a painstaking scientific study of our government.

Even this brief discussion of manhood suffrage would be incomplete without some reference to the new democratic machinery of today, by which it is reasonably hoped that our government will become a responsive and effective representative democracy in reality as well as in name. We are at the present time going

through a political revolution. We are trying to secure, actually, the only just basis of government — the consent of the governed. We are trying to secure the real representation of *all* classes, including women; to obtain intelligence and alertness in the electorate; to centralize administrative responsibility; and to make all public officials more directly responsible to intelligent public opinion, with power to enforce its desires. More and more the tendency is manifest, too, to supplement representation by direct legislation. The whole complex movement of political reform today, including as it does the initiative and referendum, the recall of public officials, possibly even of judges or of judicial decisions, the direct election of United States senators; direct primaries, presidential preference primaries, corrupt practices acts; home rule, commission government, etc., for cities; publication and limitation of campaign contributions and expenditures, short ballots, publicity pamphlets, legislative reference libraries, anti-lobbying laws, extension of civil service rules, and the increasing tendency to put men of experience and suitable administrative ability into responsible public offices — this whole set of reforms and tendencies is simply the wholehearted effort of an awakened American public to secure efficient democracy. The new machinery and ideals may be destined to disappoint their more ardent advocates, but they have already accomplished enough of a revolution for the good to throw the burden of proof upon their opponents. Not the least significant

characteristic of the new democracy is its purpose to become a complete democracy. It is impossible, indeed, to predict what will be the political future of the negro in the South, but there seems now no possibility of reasonable doubt that women will acquire, within the near future, full political rights and obligations on an equality with men. The future efficiency of full popular government thus established will depend on the degree to which the people refrain from increasing, through unreasonable extension of the principle of direct legislation, the political duties of citizens beyond their power to perform well, and the extent to which the people realize the increasingly difficult task which modern industrial and social relations must necessarily entail, and the energy and intelligence with which they fit themselves to perform it, by a properly designed educational system and a properly fostered, and practical, large idealism of efficient citizenship.

(See Questions for Review Page 1783.)

PART IV

The Present Political Status of Women in the United States

By BERTHA REMBAUGH

A SINGLE article which attempts to treat the present political status of women in the United States is from the nature of the subject in danger of going to one of two opposite extremes. It is almost bound to be either sketchy, anecdotal, and inadequate, or else to be a dead tabulation of disconnected facts. This is because there is no political status of women in the United States; there are forty-eight statuses. Each state should properly be the subject of an entire discussion, since in no two, excepting the suffrage states, are the conditions even approximately the same. It is true, however, that states in the same geographical section show some similarities in their laws regarding the political position of women, and these similarities will be pointed out as far as possible in the limited compass of this paper.

In the first place it is necessary to define the term "political status," which for some reason seems to be commonly misunderstood. It covers a limited though

important field; it deals with men and women in their relation to the government as contrasted, for instance, with civil status, which deals with men and women in their relation to each other as individuals. It does not, in fact, cover even the whole field of government in its relation to individual men and women, but only the part in which the individual controls, influences, or himself is the government. It does not concern, for example, any part of the great province of the criminal law, where the government reaches out and restrains or punishes the individual. The term covers merely two functions of an individual citizen, his control of the government, which in republican countries is the suffrage, and his identity with the government, which in republican countries we call office-holding.

In nearly all forms of government political rights have, in the main, been dependent upon civil rights, but in hardly any instance, even in the case of male citizens, have the two developed along parallel lines. In the case of women the divergence between the development of the two forms of rights or privileges is even greater than in the case of men. With some nations at certain periods of their history the civil rights of women have very closely approximated those of men, while of political rights the same women had few or none. In some places the reverse has been true. In the ancient nations of the East, for instance, woman stood politically equal with man because neither of them was politically far removed from the slave. The

ordinary male citizen had no control over and was not a part of the power that governed him. But as a civil unit, in relation to his property, his status in the family, etc., the man was infinitely more free than the woman; his wife and daughter were substantially part of his property. In Greece women were still worse off, at least by contrast, since the men of the nation attained complete political rights while the women, except in a few communities, had neither civil, social, nor political existence. In Rome, coincidently with the gradual break-down of the strict agnatic family power, women became civilly and socially free agents, but they never attained to any purely political rights. It must be admitted, however, in explanation, that at the time when the civil rights of the Roman women were coming into existence the political rights of the Roman men were disappearing, and the empire of the Cæsars was displacing the republic of Cato the Censor. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, no new political rights were acquired by another class.

The ancient Germans, as can be seen by the accounts of Tacitus and other writers, gave to their women the highest degree of both civil and political rights, admitting them as an integral part into the most important and solemn councils of the State. The Teutonic tribes created the original mold for most of our political and social institutions and they formed the nations, from which the United States until recently obtained nearly all its immigrants, but the political power and influence

of the ancient German women have not come down to us. This was because the growth of another institution which superseded the tribal organization and extinguished the power of the individual tribesman as well —the feudal system. That institution, by making participation in government dependent upon the holding of property in land, created for all the Middle Ages a situation so different from any which we now have that it is almost impossible for the modern mind to comprehend it, but we at least know that, under that system, political rights in our sense of the term were not dreamed of. Women, if they were holders of the proper fiefs or estates, held high state office; in England, for instance, they could preside over the great executive-judicial assemblages of the County Courts. If they did not inherit such estates their position was not politically less important than that of a younger son.

The United States was founded at a time when the political rights of men were beginning to emerge from the restraint under which they had been placed by the feudal system and the age of absolutism which followed it, and there has accordingly never, in any one of the forty-eight separate republics which we call states, been any question of the full possession and exercise of these rights by every adult, white, male citizen. But at that time the notion that these political rights should be a part of the inheritance of their women had not even come into the realm of ideas.

For this reason, although the political status of men is practically identical in each of the states, in no two, omitting the full-suffrage states, is the status of women the same. If, however, we divide the country into four great divisions, North, South, Middle West, and Far West, we shall see that certain general tendencies are manifest in each.

In the North and South women's political rights are far behind those rights in the rest of the country. In the Far West over three-quarters of the states have given their women full political equality. In the Middle West, while in only one state, Kansas, women have full suffrage and other political rights, wide developments of partial suffrage exist — very important partial suffrage, for instance, in Illinois. The North and South, while both behind the West, are different from each other. In the South, except in Louisiana, women have almost no political rights of any kind, while in the North they have a very definite status, but their privileges are restricted mainly to holding minor political offices. The reason for these differences is historically, if not logically, apparent. In the North, where women outnumber men and where the higher education of women has been longest established, economic pressure has forced them into paid employments, and this has qualified them to an unusual degree for at least the minor executive and clerical offices of the government. In the South the social conservatism of the people has made them look askance

at any tendency which seemed to them of a socially revolutionary character, as the "women's rights" movement did seem, while its real political significance apparently passed unnoticed by them. The Far West had the advantage of being settled after the ideas of women's political position had already undergone a considerable change, the smaller proportion of women in the population increased their estimated value, and the general radical and experimental temperament of the people inclined them to give full suffrage a trial. The Middle West, lying between these three sections, has been affected by them all.

Women enjoy full suffrage in nine states — Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. This involves in each of these states the full right to hold all political offices. In all the other states except one such suffrage will have to be attained by an amendment to the state constitution, which requires a referendum to the people. The exception is North Dakota, where, by a special provision of her constitution, a women-suffrage amendment may be adopted by the legislature. In New Jersey, suffragists have always claimed that the property-owning women still had by right the full suffrage, never having been deprived of their colonial privilege in this respect by proper or constitutional legislative action. The courts of that state have, however, decided adversely to that contention (Carpenter vs. Cornish, 83 Atl. 31).

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JULIA WARD HOWE.

A strong advocate of Woman Suffrage.

The denial of the franchise to the women sometimes produces an interesting and anomalous situation. In Alabama, for instance, where they have a property qualification, a man may qualify on his wife's property, and in Rhode Island, where they also have such a qualification, a man's tenure, by the curtesy of his dead wife's estate will give him the vote she never had.

While full suffrage is possessed by women in only nine states, in most of the others some form of the elective franchise, either in school, municipal, or tax-raising matters, is open to them. Ordinarily, however, they enjoy these various forms of suffrage not in their capacity as adult women but in that of taxpayers, parents, freeholders, or in some other special capacity. Only sixteen states give them no possible electoral privileges at all. These states are Nevada, Texas, Missouri, Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Indiana, West Virginia, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Maine. This does not mean, by the way, that in these states women possess no political rights, for in the most of them they can hold political offices of varying importance. Of all the states, Georgia is the only one uncivil enough to exclude women from political rights expressly and by name. In most instances electors are defined as male citizens, and then all offices, etc., are declared open only to electors, thereby safely sidetracking women. But Georgia bluntly says: "Females are not entitled to the privilege of the elective franchise;

nor can they hold any civil office or perform any civil functions, unless specially authorized by law." (Const. Art. II, § 2.) It will be noted, however, that even in this conservative state women are specially authorized by law "to hold certain offices."

Each of these various kinds of limited suffrage — school, taxpaying, and municipal — varies in value and meaning in practically every state, and a superficial analysis of these differences may be of interest. In six states — *i. e.*, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Montana, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Wisconsin — women vote on matters appertaining to schools which are submitted to the people, whether these matters are decided at the time of a general election or not, and vote also for substantially all peculiarly school officers. Frequently it is required that there be separate ballot boxes for the women voters, to avoid confusion, and that they register in separate lists. In two states, on the other hand, Delaware and Iowa, women vote on school matters only if they are taxpayers or freeholders, and then only on the question of raising money for schools. In Delaware a woman is entitled to one vote for each dollar or fraction of a dollar of school tax assessed against her. In North Carolina the freeholders may petition for an election on the question of whether a tax shall be levied for school purposes, but only electors may vote at the election when it occurs. In Kentucky, by a recent statute, women may vote on school matters if they possess all the qualifications of male voters and

in addition are able to read and write. (Acts of Ky., 1912, ch. 47.) In nine states what is apparently full school franchise has been limited by court decisions or cut down by omissions in the statute so as to be far less comprehensive than it at first sight seems. Women are thereby frequently excluded from voting for constitutional officers — *i. e.*, officers mentioned and established by the state constitution — or at elections that pass upon other than school matters, or else the rights which the legislature seemed to bestow are in some other way vitally curtailed. Thus in Illinois women may not vote for county superintendent of schools or on propositions submitted to the electors for decision. (People v. Welsh, 70 Ill. 641; People v. English, 139 Ill. 622; Plummer v. Yost, 144 Ill. 68.) In Michigan the state board of education and the regents of the University are also removed from their control. (Coffin v. Thompson, 97 Mich. 189; Belles v. Burr, 76 Michigan, 1.) In Minnesota women can vote only at purely school elections and therefore not for county superintendent of schools, who is elected at the general election. In New York women electors are prohibited from voting for state school commissioners (Matter of Gage, 141 N. Y. 112), in Nebraska (State v. Cones, 15 Neb. 447) and South Dakota, for county and state superintendent of schools, and in North Dakota for superintendent of public instruction and county superintendent. In Ohio they may vote only for the board of education, and in Oklahoma they may not

vote on bond issues nor for school officers higher in grade than district school officers. In some states, such as New York and Nebraska, the school suffrage is limited to certain classes of towns and cities, generally the smaller and more rural communities. In New Jersey the courts have construed the school suffrage statutes to exclude women from voting for school officers, leaving within their province only the decision of the question of raising money for school purposes. (St. v. Deshler, 25 N. J. L. 177; Kimbal v. Hendee, 57 N. J. L. 309.) In Mississippi, "patrons of the school" elect trustees, and a widow with a child is considered a patron. In Texas "parents" may petition for the establishment of a school. It will be seen in all this, as stated before, that even limited school suffrage is not open to women as such, but only to those of them who are parents, taxpayers, etc. Their status in this respect, however, does not differ from that of the male voter on the same matters.

In many of the states the right of the property-owning and taxpaying women to have some control over the expenditure of the public money is recognized. After all, "No taxation without representation" is a theory that has gone pretty deep into the American political consciousness. So, even in Arkansas, where very little favor is extended to the idea of political activity among women, taxpaying women may petition for the establishment of local improvements, and in Mississippi they may petition against the issuance of

city bonds, and if twenty-five per cent of the taxpayers do so petition the bonds are not issued. In Montana they may vote on all state or local questions submitted to the vote of the taxpayers of the state. In Louisiana women taxpayers vote on all matters submitted to the taxpayers as such, and they may further vote without registration and by proxy — this latter being a doubtful privilege enjoyed by male taxpayers as well. In Louisiana women taxpayers may also vote on the question of exempting improvements from taxation. In Iowa they may vote on school and municipal bond issues. In New York, in all towns and villages, and by special charter in certain cities of the third class, women vote on all local propositions to raise money by bond or taxation, and also on certain questions indirectly financial, such as the incorporation or dissolution of a village. In North Carolina they may join in a petition for a school tax election. In Texas twenty-five per cent of the taxpayers of a locality may by petition obtain the formation of improvement and drainage districts. In South Carolina the majority of the freeholders may vote on the question of bonding the city, and by special action may vote in certain towns on town bond issues (Woodley v. Town of Clio, 44 S. C. 374). In Maryland and Delaware the charters of certain towns allow women residents to vote on local tax propositions. In Michigan women may vote on any question involving direct expenditure of public

money or the issue of bonds for city, village, or school purposes.

Beside the common school and taxpaying suffrage, various interesting sporadic forms of special suffrage exist. In Connecticut, Delaware, and Minnesota women vote on matters concerning public libraries. In New York they may vote at police district elections. In Texas and Mississippi as freeholders they may vote on the question of putting the stock law in operation. In Pennsylvania "inhabitants" elect public land trustees and in Arkansas inhabitants pass on the question of enforcing the three-mile limit on saloons. Most interesting of all, Illinois has by recent legislation produced another variation of limited suffrage and has opened to its women the right to vote for all but constitutional officers, including in the list opened even such important ones as United States congressmen.

The right of women to hold political office seems to show even greater variations from state to state than the right to vote. In most states there is no express restriction of offices to male citizens or electors, except in the case of certain particular offices, generally those of governor and state legislators. That women do not as a fact fill many state offices in these states is due to custom and the fact that feminine eligibility has never occurred to either the women or the men. The states coming under this general heading are Delaware, Maryland, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Florida, Vermont, Nebraska, New Jersey,

Ohio, South Dakota, and Texas. In Illinois there is a provision of the Revised Statutes that no one should be barred from any employment on account of sex, but this is expressly stated to have no effect upon elective office and has been construed to exclude women from such elective office. In Missouri it was held, in the famous case of State *ex rel.* Crow v. Hostetter (137 Mo. 636), that women were eligible to any office from which they were not expressly barred by statute. They are, however, so expressly barred from all general state offices in that jurisdiction. In Indiana and Michigan women are eligible to all appointive offices, but not to elective ones. In Connecticut the right of women to hold general state office is undetermined, but when a political party recently nominated a woman for a high political office her name was allowed to remain on the ticket. It is a curious fact that in most of the jurisdictions where there is really nothing to prevent women from holding any office, nevertheless the assumption is that they are not eligible and we have from time to time anomalous statutes expressly allowing women to hold positions they could have held with just as much legality before the statutes. (Cf. Okla. Const. Art. VI, § 27.)

Women are expressly excluded by constitutional enactment from all except certain minor offices in Arkansas, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia. In these states one must

be an elector to qualify. In three states — Alabama, North Dakota, and Tennessee — statutes instead of the constitution disqualify a non-elector, a disqualification more easily removed should the people so desire. In certain other states judicial decisions construing the common law and the statute law deprive women of the right to office which they seem upon the face of the statute books to have. These states are Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, and Wisconsin. It is the usual tendency of these decisions to exclude only from constitutional and elective offices and to leave women eligible to minor appointive positions. In the suffrage states it goes without saying that women may fill any office to which their fellow citizens care to elect or appoint them.

As the states have gradually opened the doors of political office to their women, it is interesting to note the sort of work for which they have most commonly considered them qualified. This work falls into certain well defined groups. The political positions most commonly opened to women are naturally school offices.

In Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, and Massachusetts women may fill practically any such offices. In Wisconsin, women may be school district officers, members of the board of education and board of regents, but not state superintendent of education. In

Nevada a woman was eligible as the state superintendent of schools or school trustee, but it was held that a separate amendment was necessary to make her eligible as deputy. In Pennsylvania women may fill any school office except that of controller in the first district. In Louisiana a constitutional amendment to allow women to hold all educational offices was recently submitted to the electors and lost.

Closely related to school matters are library matters and in many states the same or similar statutes open library as well as school offices to women. These states include Delaware, Georgia, Massachusetts, Mississippi. Ohio, Tennessee, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

Next to educational office, the sort of political work for which women are most frequently declared eligible is the semi-clerical, semi-administrative work involved in such positions as that of town clerk, county treasurer, etc. The position open, however, is generally only that of assistant. In Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, and New York a woman may be elected town clerk or village clerk. In Vermont she may be town clerk, town treasurer, or library trustee. In Massachusetts she may be an overseer of the poor. In South Carolina she may be a departmental clerk. In Minnesota a woman may hold any deputy county office. In Michigan and Texas she may be deputy county clerk. In Indiana, Nebraska, and Florida, in the latter by a court decision (Jan. 8, 1912), she may be county treasurer. In Indiana she may also be county recorder and

in Missouri a member of the board of county visitors.

Under this head also must be included the numerous instances where women are holding clerical positions in connection with the court systems of the states. They may be clerks of various courts in Alabama, Iowa, Massachusetts, and Ohio. In Massachusetts each court and county is practically governed by a separate law relating to it upon this subject, and no uniform rule can be laid down. In a number of states — *i. e.,* Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin — a woman may be a court commissioner, an officer whose functions, though they vary somewhat from state to state, may be defined in general as partaking both of the clerical and the judicial character. In Maine the court commissioner may solemnize marriages. In Massachusetts the court commissioner has practically the power of a notary public and a justice of the peace — to avoid, it seems, the necessity of opening the historic offices of Notary and Justice to women. Very many states, on the other hand, have made women eligible to the office of notary public. In fact, notaries are so common in the community and their remuneration so invariably depends upon individual fees instead of state appropriation that, outside of our foreign colonies, most people do not regard them as political officers at all. On the other hand, women are expressly excluded from this office in Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, and North Carolina, in the last two states by decisions. There is, however, I

believe, a constitutional amendment pending in Massachusetts to remove this disqualification. In New Jersey and Illinois a woman may be a master in chancery. Another political office not generally regarded as such is that of attorney and counsellor at law. The opening of this office-profession has been marked by more serious contests and opposition than any other to which women have attained. Little by little, however, sometimes by statute and sometimes by judicial construction, states have swung into line, and now it is only in a few southern states like Georgia that women are debarred from practicing.

Just as school offices opened quickly to women because of women's long connection with the schools as teachers, so offices upon various state charitable and reform boards have opened because of women's long connection with charitable work. In fact, in this class of offices many states go further and require the appointment of women on such bodies instead of merely allowing it. This is particularly true in regard to boards controlling penal institutions and insane asylums to which women and girls are committed. Women may be appointed on state charitable and penal boards in Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wisconsin. In Ohio their position is merely that of visitor and investigator. In Oklahoma a woman may be state commissioner of charities and corrections.

In many states also — such as Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island — the law requires the appointment of police matrons for the lower courts and police stations, especially those of the large cities. In Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin, female probation officers must be appointed to have charge of the cases of women and girl offenders committed by the judges to their care. The states of Georgia, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania require certain women physicians in asylums, etc., where girls and women are confined.

Women factory inspectors are required in Delaware, Illinois, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island and Wisconsin. In Minnesota, moreover, the assistant commissioner of labor must be a woman.

The principal value that such a summary as the preceding can have is that it may, by showing us the present and the past, in some degree enlighten our vision of the future. When we have understood the complex and divergent tendencies in existing conditions, we may possibly see better how to guide those tendencies or oppose them. We may decide that the methods possible in one community would be fruitless in another. In this connection we should also note the varying rate of progress in different communities. In the South, for the most part, the advance is nearly

imperceptible. The single exception is Louisiana, where within the last few years women have been made eligible for a number of offices and their admission to still others has been submitted to the voters. In the North and Middle West hardly a legislature adjourns without having extended the privileges of women. In the Far West the situation is somewhat different. There the people are very little given to extending privileges inch by inch. When there is action on a question of women's status it is upon the question of giving full rights or none, and they generally decide for the former.

All this raises many questions. Should the women of the rest of the country follow the Far West and aim for the whole or nothing? Is it possible, for instance, that a southern state should pass, without intermediate steps, from the condition of Georgia to that of Colorado? Again, can we exaggerate the value to the whole woman movement even in the Far West of putting more and more important political offices in the North and Middle West into the hands of such women as New York and Illinois have been able to draft into the service of their labor, immigration, charitable and educational departments?

Then, too, does the school suffrage or taxpaying suffrage justify itself to the point of making it advisable to try to attain limited franchise? It has been asserted somewhat widely that women do not avail themselves in large numbers of this restricted suffrage.

This has been as widely and as strenuously denied. As the statistics on each side are based on the observation of a very small number of elections in very limited communities, it is probable that they are both equally correct and incorrect. There is no doubt that, if used, such partial suffrage constitutes excellent training for the limited class who are eligible to it and makes a logical step to complete emancipation; neither is there doubt that full and excellent use has been made of the office-holding privileges extended women.

Another question of vital and immediate importance concerns the desirability of federal action on women's political status. No two states except the suffrage states have similar laws on the subject and uniform action cannot in reason be expected on such divergent foundations. Would it therefore be best to obtain as soon as may be a federal amendment which, when ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures, would become part of the federal constitution and force women's political equality upon the protesting one-fourth of the states? Against this proposal it may be argued that, under the theory of our federal government, questions concerning the internal government of the states are to be left to the states. It may also be urged that a premature attempt to force an amendment similar to the one which gave electoral privileges to the negroes might cause complications which would be profoundly deprecated.

It is not intended in this article to answer any of the

questions just raised; indeed, as to many the author has no very firm conviction of her own to offer. But such inquiries naturally result from a survey of the present political status of women in the United States, with its variations, its inconsistencies, and its absurdities. They are problems which American women must decide and decide promptly if, in the minimum time and with the maximum efficiency, they are to bring order out of this chaos and establish themselves throughout the nation upon an equal footing with the women of Finland, Australia, Norway, or China.

(See Questions for Review Page 1784.)

PART V

The Greatest Foe of Woman Suffrage: The Organized Liquor Traffic

By KATHARINE LENT STEVENSON

THE granting of the right of suffrage to the women of all lands where manhood suffrage now exists is the next step in social and political advance. No student of history can question the truth of this statement. As we trace the evolution of the human family through past ages, as we note the advancement of governments, the rise and fall of nations, we see that each permanent gain has carried with it enlargement of individual rights, wider participation in the functions of the state on the part of the many, more definite voice of the people in the making and enforcement of laws. When nations have begun the descent from their proud eminence as world factors, that descent has always been indicated by a lessening of the rights of the many and a corresponding increase of power and privilege on the part of the few.

We need not point to ancient Greece and Rome to prove these statements, although we all know that the mightiest days of these great nations were the days

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when largest power was vested in the people; that they began to decay when dictators wrested from the citizens their personal and political rights; when slaves increased and freemen lessened. The Anglo-Saxon race furnishes an illustration nearer home. What has marked every step of England's marvelously increasing power? Has it not been an extension of personal and political rights to more and more of her people? Of late years has it not been an extension of the right of suffrage, not because the ballot is in itself an end, but because the ballot has become largely the symbol of all that we mean when we speak of human liberty? From the days when the Barons wrested their great charter from the hands of a reluctant King, down to the days of the corn laws riots, every advance towards larger liberty on the part of the British nation has been signed and sealed by a fresh enlargement of Great Britain's voting list.

In our own country we know that the ballot was at first so hedged about by property qualifications as to be largely the right of a privileged class, but the dream of a government "of the people, for the people and by the people," has never been absent from the American nation. When the sixteenth amendment to our Federal constitution was passed manhood suffrage became the universal law of the land. With the exception of educational tests and tests of ancestry more recently devised in some sections of the country, every man who has reached the age of twenty-one is free to ex-

press himself at the ballot box on the machinery of government under which he lives. Manhood suffrage, indeed, has gone rampant and many of the wisest and most farseeing of our nation believe that in a ballot restricted, not in the interests of class or race, but in the interests of knowledge as opposed to ignorance, righteousness as opposed to unrighteousness lies largely the solution of our present day problems.

Whether or not this be true it is not our province to discuss. The fact we wish to establish is that the ballot, whether considered as a tool for service or a weapon for defense, is now denied to one class only of American citizens — and that class America's women. Is it not apparent to all who give the subject thoughtful consideration that the next logical advance step must be inevitably the extension to wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of that right to the ballot box which has been the sign manual of liberty and citizenship for husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons? He who fails to grasp this fact surely fails to read the signs of the times.

Opposing Forces

This advance of a great movement, this development of a new principle in government has not been allowed to pass unchallenged. The granting of the ballot to women has been relentlessly opposed by many forces — ignorance, conservatism, and a narrow range of vision being the chief unseen foes which have stood in the way of this, as of all other advance steps in

social and political evolution. But in addition to these intangible forces there have been others which have taken upon themselves very outward and visible form and chief among these latter we must everywhere reckon the organized liquor traffic, — or, as it so arrogantly calls itself, — "The Trade."

This is not a surprising fact; indeed, from the very nature of things, it was to have been expected. The liquor traffic is begotten of appetite and avarice and fostered in ignorance. It is, of necessity, opposed to any extension of freedom either for the individual or for the State. Its strong hold lies in political corruption while its future existence depends upon a continuance of such conditions as have made possible its existence hitherto. Above everything else it fears three things:

1. An increase of knowledge, both as to the nature and effects of alcohol and of its own methods and power as an organized trust.

2. A lessening of the purchasable vote.

3. The introduction into politics of moral issues and moral forces.

Therefore it at all times and in all places opposes the granting of suffrage to women.

Instances in proof of this assertion are so many that citation is almost needless. What State ever yet presented a Woman Suffrage Bill that did not find its effort opposed by the representatives of the organized liquor traffic? It is possible to deceive good people as

to what the ballot in the hands of women must ultimately mean but it is quite impossible to deceive those who, by the very nature of their financial interests, if for no other reason, stand opposed to goodness. Some years ago, as Chairman of the Legislative work of the Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union, I conducted a hearing before the State House Committee on Election Laws, based on the petition that women be allowed to vote on the subject of license or no-license in the annual city and town elections. The Society organized for the purpose of opposing the extension of franchise to women, — popularly called "The Antis," — was present in full force. Representatives from the Churches and Missionary Societies were there to oppose the measure on the highest grounds of morality and the public good. One Missionary Secretary in particular stated that her chief reason for opposition lay in the fact that she believed the ballot in the hands of women would largely increase intemperance and the area of license territory throughout the State.

Seated at the same table with the opposing lawyer I had been noting with amused interest the lawyer of the Allied Liquor Interests of the State, with whom I had already fought many a battle. After his concluding argument the Chairman of the Joint Committee asked if any one else desired to be heard against the bill. This lawyer immediately arose and stated that he was present at the request of his clients, the Massachusetts

Brewers' Association, the Massachusetts Distillers' Association, and the Association of Wholesale and Retail Liquor Dealers, of Boston, because they believed the passage of the measure would be inimical to their business interests. Certainly extremes met in that hearing when the official representative of a missionary society stood with the brewers, distillers, and liquor dealers!

We know beyond a shadow of doubt that Michigan lost its suffrage bill in 1912 through the organized efforts of the liquor forces and their allies. The cartoon which appeared in *"The Saturday Evening Post,"* representing a committee as waiting on a lady seated in her elegant home and thanking her for her help to their cause, — the lady being a prominent Anti-suffragist, — contained a grim truth, for that committee was composed of brewers, distillers, wholesale, and retail liquor dealers, as well as members of the Vice Trust, the White Slavers, and men who employ children in manufacturing industries. Small wonder that the lady faints when she realizes whom she, all unwillingly, has been serving.

A prominent New Zealand lecturer, Miss Anderson Hughes, who has been recently touring our country has confirmed, over her own signature, what I many times heard when I myself was privileged to visit New Zealand some four years ago. Miss Hughes says: "I am a native of New Zealand and, since my girlhood, have been associated with political, social, and philanthropic societies. The only organization in my country

which definitely opposed the granting of suffrage to women was the organized liquor traffic. The only person in New Zealand whom I have ever heard speak against woman suffrage was a liquor dealer who believed that the woman's vote had largely been responsible for the sweeping temperance victories we have secured." The other suffrage countries and states join in this testimony. So far from the Trade seizing upon the woman's ballot as an asset in their business, — as our friends the enemy would have us believe, — they have everywhere opposed the enactment of the law and everywhere would have it repealed if it were in their power to effect the repeal. The "bad woman" who has been such a bug-a-boo to good men does not exist to any appreciable degree as a political factor in the minds of the liquor dealers. On the other hand, the women who work for laws restricting or overthrowing their business exist in such large numbers as to prove a constant menace to their peace of mind and to the perpetuity of their existence.

Not a Passing Phase

This is not a passing phase of the subject; it is a condition inherent in the very nature of the case. The liquor traffic and woman suffrage must remain antagonistic until the one shall have overthrown the other. There are certain fundamental reasons why this must be the case. Woman suffrage, reduced to its last analysis, always means the protection of the home, the con-

servation of society's most vital forces. The liquor traffic, reduced to its last analysis, means the overthrow of the individual home, together with the dissipation and ultimate destruction of those forces which make for the conservation and development of society. How can it be otherwise than that the two should be pitted, each against the other, in a war to the death?

Granted that not all women stand for the highest standards and noblest ideals of the home; this is only another way of saying that the human race has not yet reached its highest development. There are still women with low concepts of happiness and of honor; there are still women who do not love their children, in any true sense of the word and who have no vision of the relation of each to all in our manifold human relationships. There are women who put personal ease above human progress. There are even women who choose sin rather than hardship or duty. There are men who fall under the same indictment. The ballot in the hands of women will not bring in the millennium nor will it overcome at once all the ills that flesh is heir to. For both men and women life is a great educational process and we do not enter the higher classes until we have passed through the lower, nor do we graduate rapidly as full-fledged angels. There are other lessons in other worlds and the higher classes must wait for the lower to emerge, oftentimes from dense ignorance, before humanity shall come, as a social unit, upon the plane of a truly Christian civilization.

What the Ballot Has Thus Far Meant

Nevertheless, when all this has been granted, the fact remains that the ballot in the hands of women has everywhere meant a social advance. It has meant better laws for women and children, better protection for the home, while the liquor traffic, from its very nature, stands opposed to legislation which will lift burdens from the backs of little children or give them a fair chance to be well born and well nurtured. The first statement has been abundantly proven wherever woman suffrage has had an opportunity to show its workings; the second is proven every day in all places the world over where the liquor traffic has right of way.

On April 24, 1912, Hon. Edward H. Taylor, of Colorado, made a remarkable speech before the National House of Representatives in which he specified what he considered the most important of the one hundred and fifty laws enacted, primarily through the influence of its women voters, in Colorado, from 1895 to 1912, inclusive. The first bill introduced into the Legislature after women were given the right to vote was for the establishment of a State Home for dependent and neglected children. The next raised the age of consent for young girls to eighteen years. The next made married women joint guardians of their own children with equal privileges and powers. Other measures have been: for protecting the property of infants and insane persons; for establishing a State Industrial School for girls; liberal appropriations for the already

existing Industrial School for boys; compulsory educational laws for all children between eight and fourteen years of age; kindergartens provided in all schools; creation of county high schools; prohibiting the furnishing to any child under sixteen of cigarettes or tobacco; an act prescribing and regulating hours of employment for women and children and preventing any woman or girl over fifteen from working more than eight hours a day in any position requiring her to stand or be upon her feet; family maintenance act, compelling a man to support his wife and children, also compelling children, if able to do so, to support their destitute and infirm parents; a splendid pure food and drug law; the establishment of juvenile courts; providing for the education of dependent and neglected children; establishing detention houses and parental or truant schools for juvenile delinquents; a drastic anti white slave law, with a penalty of one to five years in the penitentiary.

These are only a few of the measures which one state alone has secured through the "team work" of its men and women citizens. Is it not apparent upon the very face that these measures all have a direct bearing upon the welfare of future homes and future citizens? The story of the work of the women of Seattle for the recall of their infamous mayor is too well known to need repetition. With his downfall came the downfall of the segregation of vice for the great metropolis of our Northern Pacific Coast. Moreover, while no woman suffrage state has as yet secured state-wide

prohibition of the legalized liquor traffic it is yet a well-known fact that the no-license area of these states has been largely increased since the ballot was given to women. In all the far western states the men citizens are far in excess of the women; therefore it is decidedly illogical to blame their failure to secure prohibition to the fact that women are voters.

In Finland, after women were made voters and became members of parliament, a prohibition law was immediately passed. The Czar refused it his sanction, at the instigation of the French wine growers. At the second session of parliament it was again passed and has again been refused the royal approval. Sweden and Norway have been making rapid advance in no-license territory since women have been given the right to express themselves in the only effective way, through the ballot. Of New Zealand Miss Hughes says: "New Zealand is a country which has led the world in many reforms and measures of progressive legislation; the advance, as well as the steadily increasing prosperity of the country, has all been effected since the enfranchisement of the women. A few of the reforms secured have been: Compulsory arbitration; pensions for deserving aged poor; universal penny postage; the Factories' Act; Workmen's Homes Act, through which every thrifty working man may own his own home; greatly extended free education; regulation of hours of work and minimum wage laws; subsidizing widowed mothers, without means, for the care of their own

children and provision for competent maternity nurses even in the most removed rural districts. Woman's vote in New Zealand has brought about no revolution but it has brought about legislation which has ensured improved conditions of life for all, especially for women and children, and it has aroused the women to a fuller sense of national responsibility and patriotism. Our women are most capable and efficient in all domestic matters, and the fact that we have the second highest birth rate and the lowest rate of infant mortality in the world speaks eloquently for an intelligent motherhood. No thoughtful person can doubt that women's enfranchisement has wrought in New Zealand for the best interests of the home, the Dominion and the Empire."

Now in New Zealand the liquor traffic works against "the best interests of the home, the Dominion and the Empire." In every land it works against the best interests of all that should be reckoned as making for National greatness. Look at the fearful toll the liquor traffic takes of future generations. The recent investigations of some of the world's greatest scientists are appalling on these points. Sixty-five percent of the epileptics of our own land owe their dread disease, it is said, to the use of alcohol on the part of their parents. Seventy percent of the tuberculosis cases, it is estimated, are due directly or indirectly to drink. The same proportion is given by some authorities for insanity. Dr. MacNichol, of New York, whose recent searching investigation has attracted world-wide attention, says:

"Within thirty years the mortality from chronic diseases in the United States has doubled . . . within a period of fifty-three years the country's population increased 350 percent, while the number of insane and feeble-minded increased 950 percent . . . During the past five years the United States birth rate has fallen off 33 1-3 percent; this means the loss of a million babies a year. Let this same degeneracy continue at the same rate for one hundred years, and there will not be a native born child five years old in the United States." Dr. MacNichol then answers the question: "What is the cause of this degeneracy?" as follows:

"A hundred different intermediate agencies may contribute to the undoing of the race but back of them all stands alcohol as the chief degenerative factor. . . The great burden of drink is not borne by the drinker but by the drinker's children. The germ cell that is to be evolved into another being is the most highly organized of all the cells in the human body. In its protoplasm lies the material and pattern of the perfect organism. . . . A defective germ cell cannot evolve a normal body; that is why we find a large percentage of functional and organic diseases among the children of drinking parents. . . . In one institution for the treatment of physical defectives a recent study shows that every patient is the child of drinking parents."

Is it not inevitable that an institution which produces such results should stand diametrically opposed to placing in the hand of the Motherhood of a nation a

weapon for the protection of her children against its ravages? And even worse than the physical and mental effects are the moral which send down crooked thinking, moral degeneracy, and spiritual paralysis even to the third and fourth generations.

The Economic Question

But the liquor traffic not only affects the women of our land as home makers; it crosses the path of every woman who must make for herself a living through some productive industry. Woman as wage earner is no longer a theory; she is a stern and uncompromising fact. Women have been forced into the ranks of labor whether they would or not. The stern law: "If a man will not work neither shall he eat," has its feminine as well as its masculine interpretation. For good or for ill women must be reckoned with in the labor market and must themselves reckon with the conditions they find there. Does the laboring man need the ballot? There can hardly be two answers to this question. But what reason can be given for the ballot in the hands of the laboring man which has not equal force for the ballot in the hands of the laboring woman?

How both men and women are made to suffer without that protection is a story which he who runneth may read. The underpaid woman is a constant menace to the ranks of labor as a whole. Wherever a woman can be found who will undertake a certain piece of work for less than a living wage, not she alone suffers,

but the whole industrial army with her. But why should a woman be willing to undertake a piece of work for scanty wages? Because the market is flooded with women and girls who ought to be living in the comfort of their own homes, who ought to be doing housework, mending, caring for the children, and cooking their family's food, but who are nevertheless forced out to compete with some other woman, or some man. Where untrained labor can be made to serve an end untrained labor will be employed so long as our social order is the preëminently selfish, soulless thing it is today and, therefore, the untrained woman becomes one of the greatest of our present economic problems.

But what forces so many women out of their homes into the ranks of untrained labor? There are many other causes, without doubt, but who having looked into the matter ever superficially can question that the liquor traffic and its resultant intemperance is the greatest cause of this menace to the social order? The Father's money is spent in the saloon. What is there for the wife to do but try to find some way to earn enough to keep her children from starvation? Child labor, too, is largely the outgrowth of the liquor traffic. It is true that the greed of employers is responsible for that to a good degree, but no other one cause sends so many children into the factories when they ought to be in school as does the intemperance of parents.

Moreover no other business in the world pays so

little in wages for the invested capital as does the liquor traffic. According to reliable statistics less than forty-six millions of dollars are paid annually to wage earners in the manufacture and sale of liquor. But seventy-five times as much is paid to wage earners by the total number of manufacturers. Is it not significant that the Commission appointed in 1910 by the Massachusetts Legislature to investigate the causes which had led to the increased cost of living should have reported that the direct cost of the liquor traffic to the State was ten millions of dollars, "to say nothing of the indirect expense?" During that same year the entire amount received by the State for all classes of licenses was $3,406,000.88. Comment is unnecessary.

The Conclusion of the Whole Matter

The liquor traffic and womanhood are mutually antagonistic. Each sees in the other its own direct foe. Woman, by her very nature, stands for the conservation of life's forces, from the standpoint of physical, mental, moral, economic, and social life. The liquor traffic stands for the overthrow of all these. It ministers to disease, to immorality and crime, to poverty, and waste, to the complete disintegration of the social order. Woman has used against this foe to her happiness and effectiveness the weapons of love and prayer, of determined opposition, and of moral suasion. One only method of prevention and overthrow has been largely denied to her and that the one method which added to

the others will be finally effective: viz., the arraignment before the bar of public opinion, through law and law enforcement of this arch foe to her home and her loved ones, this arch traitor against society. The time cannot much longer be delayed when she will be permitted to add this to her other weapons of defense and of attack. With universal woman suffrage the doom of the organized, legalized, liquor traffic is sealed.

The evil is everywhere apparent. Its remedy is twofold: First, knowledge as to what the liquor traffic really is and how it opposes all Home's highest interests; second, the focalizing of this knowledge into the white heat of woman's ballot "for the protection of the Home, for the abolition of the liquor traffic and for the triumph of Christ's Golden Rule in custom and in law."

(See Questions for Review Page 1785.)

ANNA HOWARD SHAW.
For Several Years President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART I

1. Who is usually credited with being the first prophet of woman suffrage?

2. What was the status of German women in early times?

3. What race spread the doctrine of the subjection of women?

4. What opportunities were open to women from the 12th to the 14th centuries?

5. What was the attitude of the early church?

6. What right did feudalism afford women? In what lands did women as land owners have votes?

7. Was there any interest in woman suffrage in Revolutionary Days?

8. What was "The Declaration of the Rights of Women?"

9. Name some of the women of the 19th century who aided greatly in advancing the cause.

10. What recent advance has been made in the various countries of Europe?

11. Give a brief account of the movement in England, and the present situation there.

12. What is the status of woman in the British Colonies? In Asia?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. Primitive Woman.

2. Writings of Hesiod, Aristophanes, Euripides, Sophocles, concerning women.

3. Comparative freedom of Hebrew women in ancient times.

4. The christian versus the pagan woman.

5. Effect of monasticism upon the status of women; of the age of chivalry.

6. Woman and education.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART II

1. What was the legal status of women in the American Colonies?

2. How does the entrance of women into industry mark the beginning of a new epoch in the woman's rights movement? When did this epoch begin?

3. Discuss the legal struggle for economic independence of women. Who secured the first petition for a married women's property bill? In which state legislature and in what year was such a bill first introduced?

(Maine passed the first married women's property bill in 1844.)

4. In what ways were the early temperance and anti-slavery movements contributory to the woman suffrage movement? What direct influence was exerted by the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840?

5. When and where was the first woman's rights convention in the world called? Name the four women who signed the call. Discuss the proceedings.

6. What great change took place in the economic status of women during the Civil War? Name five women who occupied positions of responsibility under the war government?

7. Why was the Republican party during its early years supposed to be favorable to woman suffrage? What events dispelled this illusion?

8. What are the XIII, XIV and XV Amendments? Describe the attempts of women to vote under the XIV Amendment. What celebrated case put an end to these attempts? In what year was the decision rendered?

9. Name the first state which granted full suffrage to women? In what year? Name the three states which followed, giving the years in which the amendments passed.

10. When and where was the Woman Suffrage Party formed? Discuss its rapid spread and its value as an introduction to practical politics.

11. Which political parties have a suffrage plank in their platforms? In what years were these planks first inserted?

12. How many women in the United States now have full

suffrage? How many have partial suffrage? How many have no suffrage?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. Early Suffrage Leaders.

2. The Struggle to Vote Under the XIV Amendment and What It Taught Us.

3. Reasons for the Present Distribution of Suffrage Territory in the United States.

4. What Women Have Done Where They Are Voting.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART III

1. Show how the characteristic limitations on the colonial suffrage developed out of English conditions.

2. What were the characteristic voting and office-holding qualifications required by the early state constitutions?

3. What were the influences leading to the introduction of manhood suffrage in the United States?

4. What methods has the South devised to disfranchise negro men in spite of the fifteenth amendment?

5. What are the main theories of the suffrage?

6. Can you draw any line between justifiable and unjustifiable restrictions on the right to vote?

7. Give an outline of the argument for limited suffrage; for unlimited suffrage.

8. What reasons may be assigned for the partial failure of manhood suffrage in the United States to secure good government?

9. Show the significance of nominating machinery in producing good or bad government.

10. The significance of the Australian ballot system.

11. The relation of civil service reform to popular government.

12. Name some of the reforms in political machinery that have been introduced, or are being introduced, with view to making popular suffrage really effective. What are the conditions of success for these reforms?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. The evolution of the ballot in its relation to good government.

2. The conditions under which an extended suffrage franchise will be successful.

3. The racial and social characteristics of city populations as bearing upon the question of suffrage qualifications in American cities.

4. The election laws and procedure in your state.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART IV

1. What is political status? How does it differ from civil status?

2. What has been the historical relation between political and civil status?

3. What was the effect of the feudal system on women's political condition?

4. What states give women full political equality?

5. Where are these states located? Is their geographical contiguity an accident?

6. Where in the country are women's political rights fewest?

7. Where women have limited suffrage, upon what matters can they generally vote? Why?

8. Where women have limited office-holding rights, what offices can they generally hold? Why?

9. What is meant by judicial legislation or legislation by decision? Has judicial legislation affected the political status of women? If so, in what general way?

10. Does it make any difference if the exclusion of women from political rights is by constitutional provision, legislative enactment or judicial decision? Why?

11. What is school suffrage? Does it always mean the same thing and confer the same rights? Discuss.

12. Just what rights are generally included in the "taxpaying suffrage"?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. Political rights of women of England and Continental Europe as compared with the United States.

2. Question of the value of limited suffrage and office-holding as steps to complete emancipation.

3. Question of the relative desirability of State or Federal action on suffrage.

4. Detailed history of the development of political rights of women in your own State.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW. PART V

1. What is the next inevitable step in social and political advance?

2. What incidents in past history prove this to be a logical conclusion?

3. What are some of the chief forces opposing the granting of the ballot to women?

4. What are the basic reasons on which the liquor traffic opposes woman suffrage?

5. Is this a logical opposition, based on the nature of things?

6. What incidents can be given as to what the ballot in the hands of women has already accomplished.

7. What are some of the statements of leading scientists as regards the effects upon children of the drinking habits of their parents?

8. What is the extent of the power of this organized foe?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY

1. The physiological effects of alcohol and its special relation to child-life.

2. The extent of the liquor traffic and its power in the financial world.

3. The liquor traffic in its relation to social problems; impurity, the white slave traffic and allied evils.

4. The position of the home in a true civilization.

PART VI

Facts and Figures Concerning Equal Suffrage

Edited and Compiled by
FLORENCE BENNETT PETERSON

The Editor's Foreword

EQUAL SUFFRAGE for women has become one of the most vital issues of the socio-political movement of the present time. All over the world, people are recognizing that woman's enfranchisement is being brought about by a law that is final and irresistible, viz.: "All those who share in the life of a State are subject to its laws; they gain or suffer by its prosperity or adversity; therefore, they are entitled to a share in the control of its policy."

Equal Suffrage is becoming more important in statistics, the science of states. The growing intelligence of people seeks to measure and evaluate the political phase of the woman movement. Not only the student of political evolution, but the rank and file of men and women are asking for information, facts, and figures. The following pages present tables showing the history and growth of suffrage and eligibility; different kinds of franchises granted to women; the number of women eligible to vote and the percentage voting; the effect of woman's vote on legislation; official positions held by women; procedure for constitutional amendments; tabulations of laws that are particularly related to the suffrage movement, etc.

The editor desires to express especial appreciation to the compilers of "Woman Suffrage in Practice," a new book published by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, London, to the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, to Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, and to the many devoted friends of suffrage who so kindly sent reports of recent suffrage activities.

PROGRESS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE IN THE WORLD

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFRAGE
1834	England and Wales	Poor law guardian suffrage.
1838	Kentucky	School suffrage to widows with children of school age.
1854	Transvaal	Municipal suffrage.
1850	Ontario	School suffrage, women married and single.
1861	Kansas	School suffrage.
1861	Bohemia	Franchise and eligibility for the Provincial Diet.
1864	Bohemia	Communal franchise except in Prague and Reichenberg.
1866	Russia	Proxy landtaxpayer's suffrage.
1867	New South Wales	Municipal suffrage.
1869	England	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
	Victoria	Municipal suffrage, married and single women.
	Wyoming	Full suffrage.
1871	West Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1875	Michigan	School suffrage.
	Minnesota	School suffrage.
1876	Colorado	School suffrage.
1877	New Zealand	School suffrage.
1878	New Hampshire	School suffrage.
	Oregon	School suffrage.
1879	Massachusetts	School suffrage.
1880	New York	School suffrage.
	Vermont	School suffrage.
	South Australia	Municipal suffrage.
1881	Scotland	Municipal suffrage to the single women and widows.
	Isle of Man	Parliamentary suffrage.
1882	Cape Colony	Municipal suffrage.
1883	Nebraska	School suffrage.
1884	Burmah	Municipal suffrage.

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFRAGE
	ONTARIO	Municipal suffrage.
	TASMANIA	Municipal suffrage.
1886	NEW ZEALAND	Municipal suffrage.
	NEW BRUNSWICK	Municipal suffrage.
	HUNGARY	Active indirect communal franchise on a property basis—a proxy vote.
	FRANCE	Limited form of school suffrage.
1887	KANSAS	Municipal suffrage.
	NOVA SCOTIA	Municipal suffrage.
	MANITOBA	Municipal suffrage.
	NORTH DAKOTA	School suffrage.
	SOUTH DAKOTA	School suffrage.
	MONTANA	School suffrage.
	ARIZONA	School suffrage.
	NEW JERSEY	School suffrage.
	MONTANA	Taxpaying suffrage.
1888	ENGLAND	County suffrage.
	BRITISH COLUMBIA	Municipal suffrage.
	NORTHWEST TERRITORY	Municipal suffrage.
1889	SCOTLAND	County suffrage.
	PROVINCE OF QUEBEC	Municipal suffrage, single women and widows.
1891	ILLINOIS	School suffrage.
	ROUMANIA	School committee suffrage.
1893	CONNECTICUT	School suffrage.
	COLORADO	Full suffrage.
	NEW ZEALAND	Full suffrage.
1894	OHIO	School suffrage.
	IOWA	Bond suffrage.
	ENGLAND	Parish and district suffrage, married and single women.
1895	SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Full State suffrage.
1896	UTAH	Full suffrage.
	IDAHO	Full suffrage.
1898	IRELAND	All offices except members of Parliament.
	MINNESOTA	Library trustees.

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFRAGE
	DELAWARE	School suffrage to taxpaying women.
	FRANCE	Women engaged in commerce can vote for Judges of the Tribunal of Commerce.
	LOUISIANA	Taxpaying suffrage.
1900	WISCONSIN	School suffrage.
	WEST AUSTRALIA	Full State suffrage.
1901	FRANCE	Employment suffrage and eligibility.
	NEW YORK	Taxpaying suffrage, local taxation in all towns and villages of the State.
	NORWAY	Municipal suffrage.
1902	AUSTRALIA	Full suffrage.
	NEW SOUTH WALES	Full State suffrage.
1903	KANSAS	Bond suffrage.
1904	ORANGE RIVER COLONY	Municipal suffrage.
	TASMANIA	Full State suffrage.
1905	QUEENSLAND	Full State suffrage.
1906	FINLAND	Full suffrage, eligible to all offices.
1907	ITALY	Council of expert suffrage.
	NORWAY	Full Parliamentary suffrage to the 300,000 women who already had municipal suffrage.
	SWEDEN	Eligible to municipal offices.
	DENMARK	Can vote for members of boards of public charities and serve on such boards.
	ENGLAND	Eligible as mayors, aldermen, and county and town councillors.
	OKLAHOMA	New State continued school suffrage for women.
1908	MICHIGAN	Taxpayers to vote on questions of local taxation and granting of franchises.
	DENMARK	Women who are taxpayers, or wives of taxpayers, a vote for all officers except members of Parliament.
	VICTORIA	Full State suffrage.
	FRANCE	Council of Expert suffrage and eligibility.

TIME	PLACE	KIND OF SUFFRAGE
1909	BELGIUM	Can vote for members of the Counseils des Prudhommes, and also eligible.
	PROVINCE OF VORALBERG (AUSTRIAN TYROL)	Single women and widows paying taxes were given a vote.
1910	WASHINGTON	Full suffrage.
	NEW MEXICO	School suffrage.
	NORWAY	Municipal suffrage made universal.
	BOSNIA	Parliamenary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate.
	DIET OF THE CROWN PROVINCE OF KRAIN (AUSTRIA)	Suffrage to the women of its capital city, Laibach.
	INDIA (GAEKWAR OF BARODA)	Women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.
	WÜRTEMBERG, KINGDOM	Women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the Chamber of Agriculture. Also eligible.
	NEW YORK	Women in all towns, villages, and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.
1911	CALIFORNIA	Full suffrage.
	HONDURAS	Municipal suffrage in Belize.
	ICELAND	Parliamentary suffrage for women over 25 years.
	IRELAND	Eligibility to borough and county councils.
1912	KENTUCKY	Full school suffrage.
	NORWAY	Eligibility to nearly all offices.
	ITALY	Council of Commerce suffrage.
	OREGON	Full suffrage.
	KANSAS	Full suffrage.
	ARIZONA	Full suffrage.
1913	ALASKA	Full suffrage.
	NORWAY	Full suffrage.
	ILLINOIS	Limited franchise. Vote for President and offices created by statute.

GROWTH OF MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

1854 Transvaal.
1862 Sweden.
1867 New South Wales.
1869 England, Victoria.
1871 West Australia.
1880 South Australia.
1881 Scotland.
1882 Cape Colony.
1884 Burmah, Ontario, Tasmania.
1886 New Zealand, New Brunswick.
1887 Kansas, Nova Scotia, Manitoba.
1888 British Columbia, Northwest Territory.
1889 Province of Quebec.
1901 Norway.
1904 Orange River Colony.
1911 Belize, Capital of Honduras.
1913 Illinois.

GROWTH OF SCHOOL SUFFRAGE

1838 Kentucky.
1850 Ontario.
1861 Kansas.
1875 Michigan, Minnesota.
1876 Colorado.
1877 New Zealand.
1878 New Hampshire, Oregon.
1879 Massachusetts.
1880 New York, Vermont.
1883 Nebraska.
1887 North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, New Jersey.
1891 Illinois, Roumania.
1894 Ohio.
1898 Delaware.
1900 Wisconsin.

1910 New Mexico.
1912 Kentucky.

Note.— In many instances, school suffrage was limited and is still limited. Kentucky was given school suffrage in 1838, and had the bill nullified by a subsequent unfriendly legislature. Bill passed again in 1912 giving full school suffrage.

WHERE WOMEN HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE

COUNTRY	DATE GRANTED	NUMBER OF WOMEN ELIGIBLE TO VOTE	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN WHO DO VOTE
New Zealand	1893	300,000	74 to 85
Federated Australia	1902	1,100,000	40 to 60
** Norway	1907	300,000	20 to 55
Finland	1906	40,000	55 to 60
Wyoming	1869	34,000	80 to 90
Colorado	1893	160,000	75 to 85
Utah	1896	55,500	85 to 90
Idaho	1896	68,000	75 to 85
Washington	1910	170,000	85 to 95
† California	1911	600,000	75 to 80
† Kansas	1912	400,000	.....
† Oregon	1912	110,000	.....
† Arizona	1912	30,000	.....
† Alaska	1913	4,000	.....
Norway	1913	500,000	.....

In the Isle of Man, women who pay rent or taxes have had the full Parliamentary franchise since 1892; woman property owners, since 1881.

** Norway gave the municipal franchise to tax-paying women in 1901. In 1907, the full franchise was extended to all women who already had the municipal franchise. In 1910, the tax-paying qualification was removed from the municipal franchise, so that at the present time, all Norwegian women—in number about 500,000—have the municipal franchise, while only the tax-paying women have the full franchise. The tax-paying qualification was removed from the Parliamentary franchise in 1913.

† Approximate figures, based on the Census, 1910.

*TABLE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE DATES

Country	Boards of Guardians		School Boards		Municipal Councils			The Legislature		
	Vote	Eligibility	Vote	Eligibility	Kind	Vote	Eligibility	Kind	Vote	Eligibility
Australasia—										
New Zealand			1877	1877	ad	1886	1886	ad	1893	—
Commonwealth of Australia								ad	1902	1902
South Australia		1897	1892	1892	t	1880	—	ad[1]	1894	1894[1]
Western Australia					t	1871	—	ad	1899	—
New South Wales[2]					t	1867	—	ad	1902	—
Tasmania					t	1884	—	ad	1903	—
Queensland					t	1886	—	ad	1905	—
Victoria					t	1869	—	ad	1908	—
America—										
The United States[3 4]										
Wyoming			1869	1869		1869	1869	ad	1869	1869
Colorado			1876	yes		1893	1893	ad	1893	1893
Idaho			1896	1896		1896	1896	ad	1896	1896
Utah			1896	1896		1896	1896	ad	1896	1896
Washington			1890	yes		1910	1910	ad	1910	1910
California			1911	1911		1911	1911	ad	1911	1911
Arizona			1887	yes		1912	1912	ad	1912	1912
Kansas			1861	yes		1887	1912	ad	1912	1912
Oregon			1878	yes		1912	1912	ad	1912	1912
Alaska			1913	1913		1913	1913	ad	1913	1913
Illinois			1913	1913		1913	1913			
Canada—										
Ontario			yes	yes	t	1884	—		—	—
New Brunswick				1893[5]	t	1886	—		—	—
Nova Scotia			yes	1895	t	1887	—		—	—
Manitoba			yes	yes	t	1888	—		—	—
British Columbia			1891	1891	t	1888	—		—	—
Prince Edward Island			1899	1899	t	1888	—		—	—
Quebec			yes	—	t	1892	—		—	—
Alberta and Saskatchewan			yes	yes	t	yes	—		—	—
British Honduras										
Belise					t	1911				
Europe—										
Finland					t	1872[7]	—	ad	1907	1907
Norway			1889	1889		1901[8]	1901[8]	t	1907	1907[19]
Sweden		1889	1862	1889	t	1862[8]	1909[8]		—	—
Denmark	1907	1907	1908	1908	t	1908[8]	1908[8]		—	—
Iceland					t	1909[9]	1909		—	—
Isle of Man								t	1881	—
England and Wales	1834	1875	1870	1870	t	1869	1907	t	—	—
Scotland	yes	yes	1872	1872	t	1881	1907	t	—	—

* From "Woman Suffrage in Practice."

TABLE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE DATES (*Continued*)

Country	Boards of Guardians		Schoo Boards		Town Councils[6]			The Legislature		
	Vote	Eligibility	Vote	Eligibility	Basis	Vote	Eligibility	Basis	Vote	Eligibility
Ireland	1837	1896			t	1898	1911	t	—	—
German Empire[10]										
Austria[11]										
The Netherlands		1903[7]		1903[7]						
France							[13]			[13]
Italy		1890		1907		—	—		—	—
Russia					t	1866[14]	—		—	—
Bohemia								t	1861	1861[18]
Hungary					t	yes[17]	—			
Roumania			1891	—		—	—		—	—
Asia—										
Burmah (Rangoon)					t	1884	—			
Bombay					t	yes	?			
Java					t	yes[15]	?			
South Africa—										
Transvaa			—	1907	t	1903	—		—	—
Cape Colony			1906	1906	t	1882	—		—	—
Natal			1910[16]	1910	t	—	—		—	—
Orange Free State			1908	1908	t	1904	—		—	—

(—) Women are excluded from this right. (ad) On an adult basis.

(t) On a tax-paying basis.

(1) For the Legislative Council or Upper House the Franchise is on a property basis and women are not eligible to be elected.

(2) There are also Shire Councils for which women have vote and eligibility (1905).

(3) The franchise and eligibility for the State legislature carries with it the franchise and eligibility for the Federal Legislature.

(4) Besides the fully enfranchised States here mentioned, four States have school suffrage and eligibility and some form of tax-paying suffrage for women, and sixteen States have some form of school suffrage but no other suffrage for women. One state, Illinois, has limited suffrage created by statute.

(5) Nominated.

(6) Except where otherwise stated by footnote Town Councils only are here referred to.

(7) On this date the Urban Commune franchise was conferred. The rural Commune franchise was conferred 1863.

(8) This refers to communal elections.

(9) The communal franchise had been granted to unmarried women in 1882.

(10) In many German States women vote on a property qualification sometimes in person and sometimes by proxy for rural communes.

(11) Women are qualified to vote in some cases as tax-payers; in others as large landowners for some of the Provincial Diets. The vote in general must be exercised by proxy.

(12) By nomination.

(13) Women have stood for election and have polled thousands of votes. No woman has been elected, so the question of a woman's right to be elected has not been finally decided.

(14) Women vote by proxy for Municipal and Provincial Councils.

(15) Every village elects a head man, and women vote in large numbers.

(16) As proxy for absent male parent.

(17) Unmarried women vote by proxy in communal elections.

(18) A right which women are trying to have definitely established.

(19) Full parliamentary suffrage 1913.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE

NORTH AMERICA

THE UNITED STATES

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1910	47,332,122	44,640,144	91,972,266
Number of women having full suffrage and eligibility			1,737,500

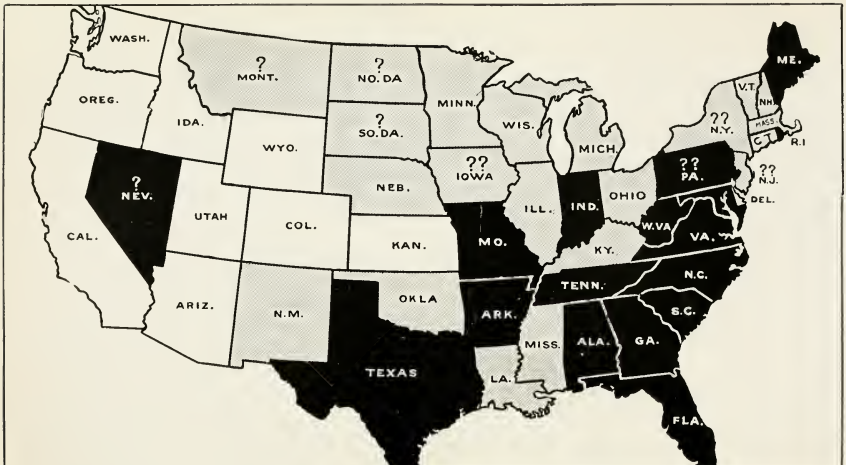
Nine States and one Territory have full equal suffrage and eligibility for women for all local, state, and federal elected bodies, and the right to vote for, or stand to be elected to, any official position, including that of President.

	School	Municipal	Legislature, etc.
Wyoming,	1869,	1869,	1869.
Colorado,	1876,	1893,	1893.
Idaho,	1896,	1896,	1896.
Utah,	1896,	1896,	1896.
Washington,	1890,	1910,	1910.
California,	1911,	1911,	1911.
Arizona,	1887,	1912,	1912.
Kansas,	1861,	1887,	1912.
Oregon,	1878,	1912,	1912.
Alaska,			1913.

Four States have school suffrage and eligibility and some form of taxpaying suffrage for women.

	School	Taxpaying
New York,	1880,	1901.
Delaware,		1898.
Michigan,	1867,	1909.
Montana,	1887.	

Fourteen States have some form of school suffrage, but no other suffrage.



MAP OF UNITED STATES SHOWING PROGRESS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

White States, Full suffrage. Shaded States, Partial suffrage. Black States, No suffrage. ? States where suffrage is before voters. ?? States where suffrage bill must pass a second legislature before being submitted to voters.

New Hampshire	1878	South Dakota	1887
Massachusetts	1879	Connecticut	1893
Vermont	1880	Ohio	1894
Mississippi	1880	Wisconsin	1900
Nebraska	1881	Oklahoma	1907
New Jersey	1887	Kentucky	1912
North Dakota	1887	New Mexico	1912

One State, Illinois, passed a bill (1913) granting women the right to vote for offices created by statute. This gives presidential suffrage, and limited municipal, township, and county suffrage.

STATUS OF SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES, OCTOBER, 1913

Free States:

1. Wyoming
2. Colorado
3. Utah
4. Idaho
5. Washington
6. California
7. Oregon
8. Kansas
9. Arizona
10. Alaska (Ter.)

States where the Amendment is now (1913) before the voters:

	House	Senate	Goes to Voters
Montana	75-2	15-2	1914
Nevada	49-3	19-3	1914
North Dakota	77-29	31-19	1914
South Dakota	70-30	41-2	1914

States where the Amendment has passed one Legislature and must pass another:

	House	Senate	Goes to Voters
Iowa	81-26	31-15	1916
New Jersey	46-5	14-5	1914
New York	125-5	40-2	1915
Pennsylvania	131-70	26-22	1915

The Legislatures of four other States gave majority votes of both houses for the submission of equal suffrage. These favorable votes were cast in Maine, Michigan, West Vir-

ginia, and Wisconsin. In Maine and West Virginia, the legislative majority fell short of the needed two-thirds; in Michigan, the amendment failed to carry the popular vote; in Wisconsin, the governor vetoed the bill.

HOW WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES CAN OBTAIN THE POLITICAL FRANCHISE

1. By amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

ARTICLE 5—AMENDMENTS

How amended.—The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on application of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments; which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress.

2. By amendments to State constitutions:

*Each State has the power to admit the women of its own State to full suffrage. Each State has a separate machinery for altering its constitution. In the majority of the States it is necessary that both Houses of the Legislature shall vote in favor of the question being sent to a referendum of the voters. In several States, two successive legislatures must agree to sending the question to the referendum. In a few States, a petition signed by a certain percentage of the electors (the initiative) is sufficient that a referendum be taken. The constitutions of some States require that at certain definite intervals a convention shall be called to amend the State Constitution. All alterations must then be submitted to the voters for ratification or rejection.

* See table on Suffrage Constitutional Amendments, p. 1804.

HOW WOMEN MAY OBTAIN LIMITED FRANCHISE

The Legislatures of some States are empowered to enact laws which give municipal and presidential suffrage. Several bills have passed Legislatures giving school suffrage, tax suffrage, and bond suffrage.

Court decisions pertaining to the constitutionality of limited suffrage:

"The women suffrage bill passed by the Illinois legislature (1913) would extend the franchise to women for certain officers not mentioned in the constitution of Illinois and for certain propositions.

As these officers specified in the bill are not mentioned in the constitution, they need not be elected by the voters prescribed by the constitution. These officials are the creation of the legislature, which also has power to describe whether they shall be appointed or elected, and if elected the qualifications of their electors.

The Supreme Courts of various states have decided that the legislature has unlimited power in prescribing restrictions on the right of franchise and in making extensions of this right in elections of statutory officers not named in the constitution. Belles v. Burr, 76 Mich. 1; Wheeler v. Brady, 15 Kan. 26; State v. Cones, 15 Neb. 444; Destine v. Dubuque, 7 Iowa, 286; State v. Board of Elections, 9 Ohio Cir. Ct. 134; Wood v. Quimby (R. I.) 40 Atl. 163; Hanna v. Young (Md.), 35 Atl. 675; State v. Dillon, 32 Fla. 545-566; Morrison v. Springer, 15 Iowa, 342; Woodley v. Town Council of Clio, 44 S. C. 374; Wilson v. Florence, 39 S. C. 397; Wilson v. Florence, 40 S. C. 290; Town of Valverde v. Shattuck, 19 Col. 110; Kimball v. Hendee, 57 N. J. 307; Landis v. Ashworth, 57 N. J. 509; Chamberlain v. Cranbury, 57 N. J. 605; Harris v. Burr (Ore.), 52 Pac. Rep. R. 20; Commonwealth v. Reeder, 171 Pa. 505; Buckner v. Gordon, 81 Ky. 669; State v. Hingley, 32 Ore. 440.

The Illinois courts have also upheld such power of the legislature. People v. English, 139 Ill. 631; Plummer v. Yost, 144 Ill. 68; Ackerman v. Henck, 147 Ill. 514; Dorsey v. Brigham, 177 Ill. 256; Davenport v. Drainage Com., 25 Ill. App. 92; People v. Welsh, 70 Ill. App. 641; People v. Nelson, 133 Ill. 565.

These Illinois cases sustain the power of the legislature to extend the suffrage to women in the election of officers not named in the constitution.

Not only have our courts upheld such power of the legislature, but the legislature continues to exercise such power, and the persons named by the legislature continue to vote, without question, for such officials.

Some of the Illinois decisions refer to the extension of the limited school suffrage to Illinois women by the law of 1891. Others refer to

the drainage act of 1885 and 1889. The drainage act of 1885 provides that adult owners of land shall petition for the drainage district, and that every adult owner of land shall be a voter. Under this law women petition and vote; and bonds issued by these districts, organized by the help of women's votes, are held good in commercial circles and by our courts, Davenport v. Drainage Commissioners, 25 Ill. App. 92. The legislature, by the sanitary district act of 1889, provided a modified system of cumulative voting, whereby the elector must vote for five-ninths of the candidates for positions as sanitary district trustees. This method was not known to the Constitution. The validity of this act was established by our Supreme Court in Wilson v. Board of Trustees, 133 Ill. 443. The legality of such measures is therefore well settled in Illinois.

Among the twenty-five or more states where school suffrage is allowed to women they often also vote on propositions affecting schools.

Some states, like Iowa, Michigan, Montana, Kansas, and Louisiana, allow women to vote on all matters relating to bond issues and taxes. Such rights have also been allowed women taxpayers in New York towns and villages and in several municipalities of Delaware and South Carolina. Pennsylvania women, by petitioning for or against local improvements, have practically a voter's privilege. Kansas passed a municipal suffrage bill in 1887.

It is true that in many of the states complete suffrage for women can only be secured through the constitution. Thus it was that women in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, and California gained all the voting privileges accorded men. So although full suffrage can only come to Illinois women through the constitution, the present bill gives them great power.

When the Charter Convention of Chicago was asked to approve municipal suffrage for Chicago women, opinions were submitted by some of Chicago's leading lawyers and jurists stating that the legislature had such power. Among those making such statements were Philip Stein, John Barton Payne, Gwynn Garnett, S. S. Gregory, Wallace Heckman, Clarence S. Darrow, Eugene E. Prussing, John C. Richberg, and Frank H. McCulloch.

The Law Committee, of which John P. Wilson was chairman, reported after argument that the legislature did have such power."

—Catherine Waugh McCulloch.

PROCEDURE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Must pass one Legislature.	Must pass two Legislatures.	Must have a majority on the amendment only when submitted to the voters.	Must have a majority of all votes cast at the election.
Alabama	Connecticut	Alabama	Illinois
Alaska[1]	Delaware[2]	Arkansas[4]	Minnesota
Arkansas	Indiana	Connecticut	Mississippi
Florida[2]	Iowa	Delaware	Nebraska
Georgia[3]	Mass.[3]	Florida	New Hampshire[8]
Illinois	Nevada	Indiana	New Jersey
Kentucky	New Jersey[3]	Iowa	Rhode Island
Louisiana	New York[3]	Kentucky	
Maine	No. Dakota	Louisiana	
Maryland	Pennsylvania	Maine	
Michigan	Rhode Island[3]	Maryland	
Minnesota	Tennessee	Massachusetts	
Mississippi	Vermont	Michigan	
Missouri[6]	Virginia	Missouri[6]	
Montana	Wisconsin	Montana	
Nebraska		Nevada[4]	
New Mexico		New Jersey	
No. Carolina		New York	
Ohio		No. Carolina	
Oklahoma		Ohio	
So. Carolina[3]		Oklahoma[5]	
So. Dakota		Pennsylvania[5]	
Texas		So. Carolina[6]	
W. Virginia		So. Dakota[8]	
		Tennessee[6]	
		Texas	
		Vermont[7]	
		Virginia[7]	
		W. Virginia	
		Wisconsin	

[1] Constitutional convention possible at any time.
[2] Does not have to be submitted to the voters.
[3] Legislature meets annually.
[4] If submitted by petition. If submitted by legislature, majority of all votes cast at election.
[5] If submitted by legislature. If submitted by petition, majority of all votes cast at election.
[6] Constitutional convention possible at any time.
[7] Constitution may be amended only once in 10 years.
[8] Constitution may be amended only once in 7 years.

SUFFRAGE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

	Amendment introduced in 1913?	Can it be introduced by initiative petition?	Must it pass one or two Legislatures?	How large a vote must it receive in the Legislature?
*1. Alabama	No.		One.	⅗ in each House.
2. Alaska	Yes.		One.	Majority in each House.
3. Arkansas	Yes.	Yes, 8%.	One.	Majority in each House.
4. Connecticut	Yes.		Two.	Majority representatives first time; ⅔ in each House second time.
5. Delaware	Yes.		Two.	⅔ in each House.
6. Florida	Yes.		One.	⅗ in each House.
7. Georgia	Yes.		One.	⅔ in each House.
8. Hawaii	See last column.			
9. Illinois	Yes.		One.	⅔ in each House.
10. Indiana	Yes.		Two.	Majority in each House.
11. Iowa	Yes.		Two.	Majority in each House.
†12. Kentucky	No.		One.	⅗ in each House.
†13. Louisiana	No.		One.	⅔ in each House.
14. Maine	Yes.	Yes.	One.	¾ concurrent vote in both Houses.
†15. Maryland	No.		One.	⅗ in each House.
16. Massachusetts	Yes.		Two.	Majority in the Senate. ⅔ those present in House
17. Michigan	Yes.		One.	⅔ in each House.
18. Minnesota	Yes.		One.	Majority in each House.
†19. Mississippi	No.		One.	⅔ in each House.
20. Missouri	Yes.	Yes. 8% in at least ⅔ of Congressional Districts.	One.	Majority in each House.
21. Montana	Yes.	Yes.	One.	⅔ in each House.

* Next session 1914.
† Next session 1914.

How often does the Legislature meet?	What is the earliest election at which it could be submitted?	How large a vote must it receive at election?	Constitutional Enactments.
Quadrennially.	Nov. 3, 1916.	Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.	Does not have to be submitted to voters.		Amendment becomes law by vote of the territorial legislature if approved by Congress.
Biennially.	Defeated in House 1913. Passed Senate 1912. 19-2.	Majority on amendment, if submitted by petition.	If submitted by the Legislature, it must have a majority of all votes cast at election.
Biennially.	Defeated in House 1913.	Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.	See last column. Defeated in House and Senate 1913.		Amendment becomes law by vote of Legislature. Does not have to be submitted to voters.
Biennially.	Defeated in House and Senate 1913.	Majority on amendment.	Constitutional convention may be held whenever voted by $\frac{2}{3}$ in each House, and approved by the majority of electors.
Annually.		Majority on amendment.	Constitutional convention may be held whenever voted by $\frac{2}{3}$ in each House. The consent of Congress is necessary to an enfranchising act.
Biennially.		Majority of votes cast at election.	Only one amendment may be submitted at a time, and the same one not oftener than once in four years.
Biennially.	Killed in committee 1913.	Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.	Nov. 3, 1916, or when prescribed by the Legislature.	Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.	Nov. 1915.	Majority on amendment.	Only two amendments may be submitted at a time, and the same one not oftener than once in 5 years.
Biennially.	Apr. 1916.	Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.		Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.	Nov. 1914.	Majority on amendments.	
Annually.	Defeated 1913. Passed House.	Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.	Defeated 1913 at election.	Majority on amendment.	Michigan undoubtedly carried in Nov. 1912, but was counted out.
Biennially.	Defeated 1913. Passed House	Majority votes cast at election.	
Biennially.	Nov. 1915.	Majority of votes cast at election.	
Biennially.	Defeated 1913.	Majority on amendment, if submitted by Legislature.	If submitted by petition, must have majority of all votes cast at election. Constitutional convention possible at any time.
Biennially.	Nov. 1914.	Majority on amendment.	Not more than three amendments can be submitted at any election.

SUFFRAGE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

	Amendment introduced in 1913?	Can it be introduced by initiative petition?	Must it pass one or two Legislatures?	How large a vote must it receive in the Legislature?
22. Nebraska	Yes.	Yes, 15%.	One.	$\frac{3}{5}$ in each House.
23. Nevada	Yes.	Yes.	Two.	Majority in each House.
*24. New Hampshire.	No.			
25. New Jersey	Yes.		Two.	Majority in each House.
26. New Mexico	Yes.	Yes.	One.	$\frac{3}{4}$ in each House.
27. New York	Yes.		Two.	Majority in each House.
28. North Carolina	Yes.		One.	$\frac{3}{5}$ in each House.
29. North Dakota	Yes.	Yes.	Two.	Majority in each House.
30. Ohio	Yes.	Yes.	One.	$\frac{3}{5}$ in each House.
31. Oklahoma	Yes.	Yes. 15%.	One.	Majority in each House. $\frac{3}{4}$ vote would secure a special election.
32. Pennsylvania	Yes.		Two.	Majority in each House.
33. Rhode Island	Yes.		Two.	Majority in each House.
34. South Carolina	Yes.		One.	$\frac{2}{3}$ in each House.
35. South Dakota	Yes.	Yes.	One.	Majority in each House.
36. Tennessee	Yes.		Two.	$\frac{2}{3}$ in each House.
37. Texas	Yes.		One.	$\frac{3}{5}$ in each House.
†38. Vermont	No.		Two.	House majority, Senate $\frac{2}{3}$, 1st time; majority in each House 2nd time.
39. Virginia	No.		Two.	Majority in each House.
40. West Virginia	Yes.		One.	$\frac{2}{3}$ in each House.
41. Wisconsin	Yes.		Two.	Majority in each House.

* Constitution amended by convention only once in 7 years if approved by voters.
† Not until 1920, except for partial suffrage.

How often does the Legislature meet?	What is the earliest election at which it could be submitted?	How large a vote must it receive at election?	Constitutional Enactments.
Biennially.	Defeated 1913.	Majority of all votes cast at election.	If submitted by petition, amendment must receive at least 35% of total vote cast at election.
Biennially.	Nov. 1914.	Majority on amendment.	Initiative petition 10%, filed 30 days before Legislature meets, acted on in 40 days, submitted at next election. Constitutional convention possible any time.
Biennially.	Nov. 1920.	⅔ of all votes cast.	Legislature can extend presidential and municipal suffrage to women without amendment.
Annually.	Nov. 1914.	Majority on amendment.	No amendment may be submitted oftener than once in five years.
Biennially.	As prescribed by Legislature.	¾ of all voting in the whole State, and at least ⅔ of all voting in each county.	
Annually.	1915.	Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.		Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.	1914.	Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.		Majority on amendment if by petition. Majority of all votes cast at election if submitted by Legislature.	3% petition possible if filed 10 days before Legislature meets. If passed it is subject to referendum. If not, 3% more signatures will secure submission.
Biennially.		Majority on amendment if submitted by Legislature. Majority of all votes cast at election if submitted by Legislature.	Any amendment submitted by petition may not be voted on oftener than once in 3 years. If defeated, it must have a 25% petition for resubmission.
Biennially.	As prescribed by Legislature.	Majority on amendment.	
Annually.	Town and ward elections 1914.	⅔ of those voting.	
Annually.		Majority on amendment.	Constitutional convention may be held whenever approved by ⅔ vote in Legislature and majority voting at next election of representatives.
Biennially.	Nov. 1914.	Majority on amendment.	Constitutional convention any time if approved by ⅔ vote in Legislature and majority voting at next election of legislators.
Biennially.		Majority on amendment.	Constitutional convention in 1914.
Biennially.	Defeated 1913. Passed House.	Majority on amendment.	There is some authority for the claim that women can be enfranchised by the act of Legislature alone.
Biennially.	As prescribed by the Legislature.	Majority on amendment.	Constitution may be amended only once in 10 years.
Biennially.	Nov. 1915.	Majority on amendment.	
Biennially.	Nov. 1916.		
Biennially.	As prescribed by Legislature. Bill passed. Vetoed. (1913)	Majority of votes cast at election.	

EQUAL SUFFRAGE AND CONGRESS

The form of government of the United States is based on the Constitution of September 17, 1787, to which ten amendments were added December 15, 1791; an eleventh amendment, January 8, 1798; a twelfth amendment, September 25, 1804; a thirteenth amendment, December 18, 1865; a fourteenth amendment, July 28, 1868, and a fifteenth amendment, March 30, 1870.

The fifteenth amendment granted the elective franchise to the negro. The Congressional Committee of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association has this year (1913) introduced a Federal Constitutional Amendment proposing the full elective franchise for women. If this amendment should pass, and be ratified by three-fourths of the States. the women of the United States would then have the full elective franchise. This amendment would become the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Equal suffrage States now control 84 of the 532 electoral votes in the Electoral College. Illinois added 29 to the electoral voting power of free States. Suffrage States control one-sixth of the electoral vote for president.

The Senate of the United States numbers 96 members. One-fifth of the Senate comes from equal suffrage States.

The House of Representatives numbers 436 members. One-seventh of the House comes from equal suffrage States.

The Electoral College requires that each State choose a number of electors equal to the number of Senators and Representatives to which the State is entitled in Congress. The number of members to which each State is entitled is determined by the census taken every ten years. By the Apportionment Act consequent on the census of 1910, there is one Representative for every 240,415 persons. The following table shows the distribution of the apportionment of Representatives:

Alabama	10	Nevada	1
Arizona	1	New Hampshire	2
Arkansas	7	New Jersey	12
California	11	New Mexico	2
Colorado	4	New York	43
Connecticut	5	North Carolina	10
Delaware	1	North Dakota	3
Florida	4	Ohio	22
Georgia	12	Oklahoma	8
Idaho	2	Oregon	3
Illinois	27	Pennsylvania	36
Indiana	13	Rhode Island	3
Iowa	11	South Carolina	3
Kansas	8	South Dakota	7
Kentucky	11	Tennessee	10
Louisiana	8	Texas	18
Maine	4	Utah	2
Maryland	6	Vermont	2
Massachusetts	16	Virginia	10
Michigan	13	Washington	5
Minnesota	10	West Virginia	6
Mississippi	8	Wisconsin	11
Missouri	16	Wyoming	1
Montana	2		
Nebraska	6	Total	436

*LEGAL STATUS OF MOTHERS IN THE GUARDIANSHIP OF CHILDREN

States wherein the father has the right to will away guardianship from the mother. In these States, the father's sole power of guardianship enables him to will away the custody of an unborn child:

1. **Delaware** (Rev. St. 1893, p. 713, Sec. 8).
2. **Florida** (Statutes 1906, p. 1027, Sec. 2086).
3. **Georgia** (Code of 1911, Sec. 3033).
4. **Maryland** (Public Statutes, 1904, Vol. 2, p. 2013, Sec. 179. See also p. 2003 and Secs. 145 and 147).

* From "Guardianship of Children," by Catherine Waugh McCulloch. Reprinted from "Chicago Legal News," Jan. 12, 1912.

5. **South Carolina** (Code 1902, Sec. 2689).
6. **Tennessee** (Code 1896, Sec. 4258, Sec. 4251).
7. **Virginia** (Sec. 2597, Code 1904).

States where the father is sole guardian during his lifetime, and after his death the surviving mother is sole guardian, either conditionally or unconditionally:

1. **Alabama** (Code of 1907, Sec. 4339, in case of a girl or boy under fourteen by implication).
2. **Arizona** (Revised Statutes 1901, Sec. 1958).
3. **Arkansas** (Kirby's Digest 1904, p. 855, Sec. 3759).
4. **Idaho** (Revised Code 1908, Sec. 5774).
5. **Indiana** (Burns Annotated Statutes 1908, Sec. 3065).
6. **Louisiana** (R. C. C., Art. 216 and 250).
7. **Michigan** (Vol. III, p. 2680 (8701), Sec. 5).
8. **Mississippi** (Code 1906, Sec. 2401) by implication.
9. **Montana** (Rev. Code 1907, Sec. 7757).
10. **Nevada** (Compiled Laws 1900, Sec. 563).
11. **New Jersey** (Gen'l Statutes 1895, p. 1615, Sec. 1).
12. **New Mexico** (Compiled Laws 1897, Sec. 1434 to 1471).
13. **North Carolina** (Pell's Revisal, Sec. 1762) if father have not appointed with her consent.
14. **North Dakota** (Revised Code 1905, Sec. 8240).
15. **Ohio** (General Code 1910, Sec. 10928).
16. **Oklahoma** (Compiled Laws 1909, Sec. 54761).
17. **Rhode Island** (Gen'l Laws 1909, p. 1170, Sec. 5).
18. **South Dakota** (Compiled Laws 1910, Vol. 2, p. 523, Sec. 370).
19. **South Carolina** (Code 1902, Sec. 2689).
20. **Texas** (Civil Code 1897, Art. 2577).
21. **Vermont** (Public Statutes 1906, Sec. 3155).
22. **West Virginia** (Code 1906, Sec. 3220).
23. **Wisconsin** (Supplement 1906, p. 1282, Sec. 3964).
24. **Wyoming** (Compiled Statutes 1910, Sec. 5739).

LEGAL STATUS OF MOTHERS IN GUARDIANSHIP OF CHILDREN.

White states have joint-guardianship of children. Shaded states give limited power of guardianship to mothers
Black states give practically absolute power of guardianship to fathers.

*States which allow the surviving mother to be sole guardian, providing she remains a widow:

1. **Arizona** (Revised Statutes, 1901, Sec. 1958).
2. **Georgia** (Code 1911, Sec. 3034) "If a widow."
3. **New Jersey** (Gen'l Statutes, 1895, p. 1615, Sec. 2) "being a widow."
4. **North Dakota** (Revised Code 1905, Sec. 8240).
5. **Oklahoma** (Compiled Laws of 1909, Sec. 5476).
6. **South Dakota** (Compiled Laws, 1910, Vol. 2, p. 423, Sec. 370).
7. **Wisconsin** (p. 1282, Supplement, 1906, Sec. 3964).

States in which the father is sole guardian that allow the mother a voice in the adoption of a child:

1. **Florida** (Statutes 1906, Sec. 2639).
2. **Mississippi** (If father has abandoned child, Code 1906, Sec. 542).
3. **Wisconsin** (Supplement 1906, p. 1282, Sec. 3964).

States including District of Columbia which make parents joint guardians of their children—the honor roll:

1. **California** (1913).
2. **Colorado** (Rev. Stat. 1908, Sec. 2912).
3. **Connecticut** (Gen'l Stat. 1902, Sec. 206).
4. **District of Columbia** (Code 1911, Sec. 1123).
5. **Illinois** (Rev. Stat. Chap. 64, Sec. 4).
6. **Iowa** (Annotated Code 1897, Sec. 3192).
7. **Kansas** (Gen'l Stat. 1909, Sec. 3966).
8. **Kentucky** (Acts 1910, p. 93).
9. **Maine** (Rev. Stat. 1903, p. 617, Chap. 69, Sec. 2).
10. **Massachusetts** (Supp. 1902-1908, p. 1277, Chap. 145).
11. **Minnesota** (Rev. Laws 1905, Sec. 3834).
12. **Missouri** (1913).
13. **Nebraska** (Cabby's Comp. Stat. 1909, Sec. 5376).

* No state takes the guardianship away from a widower upon his remarriage.

14. **New Hampshire** (Laws 1911, p. 110, Chap. 104).

15. **New York** (Wadhams Const. Laws 1909, p. 550, Sec. 81).

16. **Oregon** (Sec. 2, Married Woman's Act 1880).

17. **Pennsylvania** (Pepper & Laws Digest 1907, p. 4875, Sec. 23).

18. **Utah** (1913).

19. **Washington** (Remington & Ballinger's Code, Vol. 2, Sec. 5932).

Idaho Statutes do not give technical joint guardianship, but for practical utility Idaho might well be numbered with the joint guardianship States.

FACTS CONCERNING THE FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

WYOMING

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1910	91,670	54,295	152,056
Full equal suffrage and eligibility for women			1869
Number of women eligible to vote			34,000
Percentage who vote			80 to 90

Women in Official Positions. Women are eligible to all positions. They have served as members of the Legislature, as State Superintendents of Schools, as County Clerks, Recorders, Treasurers, Justices of the Peace, and members of the House of Representatives.

Legislation. The following laws* passed since 1869 may be taken as those in which women may be considered specially interested:

Acts providing that men and women teachers shall receive equal pay when equally qualified (Revised Statutes of Wyoming, Section 614); raising the age of protection for girls to 18 (same, Section 4964); making child neglect, abuse, or cruelty illegal (same, Section 2281); forbidding the employment of boys under 14 or girls of any age in mines, or of children under 14 in public exhibitions (same, Section 89); making it unlawful to sell or give cigarettes, liquor, or tobacco to persons under 16 (Laws of 1895, Chapter 46, Section 4);

establishing free public kindergarten (same, Chapter 50, Section 1); forbidding the adulteration of candy (Laws of 1897, Chapter 39).*

Making it illegal to license gambling (Laws of 1901, Chapter 65, page 68); and providing for the care and custody of deserted or orphan children, or children of infirm, indigent, or incompetent persons (Laws of 1903, Chapter 106, page 134).

The "Revised Statutes of Wyoming, 1899," also include the following:

Sec. 5532. The County Commissioners may sue the reputed father of a bastard if it becomes chargeable; Sec. 5065 and 5066. Prostitutes and those consorting with them are made liable to fine and imprisonment; Sec. 2166. A married woman, if her husband drinks or gambles, so that she and her family are deprived of the necessaries of life, may have a notice served to the keepers of the houses where he drinks and gambles forbidding them to serve him; 4864, mothers may inherit from their illegitimate children; 4862, subsequent marriage of parents legitimatizes a child; 4858, inheritance as between husband and wife is the same.

The Compiled Statutes, 1910, Sec. 5739, provides that a surviving mother, whether re-married or not, may be the guardian of her child. Here too there is compulsory education with instruction in physiology and hygiene up to the age of 16, and tobacco is forbidden to children under 18, and women physicians and matrons are placed in certain institutions having women and children in custody.

1911 LAWS.—1. A measure providing for the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum. 2. Provision for the adoption by the people at a special election in cities of 8,000 or over of a commission form of government. 3. A corrupt practice act, limiting the candidate's campaign expenses and compelling a sworn statement of all expenses, during both the primary and the general election. 4. Prescribing a penalty of imprisonment for assault or assault and battery upon a female with the intent to commit the crime of rape. 5. A measure providing for the establishment of a state industrial school for juvenile offenders.

* This act is incorporated in a Pure Food Bill, covering drinks, drugs, and illuminating oils. Laws of 1903, Chapter 82, page 102.

COLORADO

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1910	430,697	368,327	799,024
School suffrage			1876
Full equal suffrage and eligibility			1893
Number of women eligible to vote			160,000
Percentage who vote			75 to 85

Number of Women Voting. No full official returns are made giving the male and female votes separately. The following official figures of a large number of the more populous cities and counties were supplied by the then Governor: "Precinct 14, Ward 8, is a well-to-do residential district with a large percentage of professional people; Pre-

cinct 7, Ward 10, is a wealthy fashionable neighborhood; and Precinct 1, Ward 15, is an average section in a working class district."

Elections of 1906

District.	Population.		Registered.		Voting.		Percentage of Registered who voted.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Wom.
Denver ...	66,592	67,267	32,006	25,109	25,230	18,741	78.8	74.5
Counties ..	131,208	118,124	56,459	40,309	54,237	33,539	96	83.2
Cities	17,314	15,654	12,086	9,333	9,739	6,688	77	68.6

Election of 1908 (Denver)

	Registered.		Voting.		Percentage of Registered who voted.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Wom.
Ward 8, Precinct 14..	369	348	300	299	81.3	85.8
Ward 10, Precinct 7..	176	203	141	176	80.1	86.7
Ward 14, Precinct 1..	262	267	221	244	84.3	91.3
Denver City	41,540	35,620	36,891	29,084	88.8	81.6

A curious accusation has been brought against the woman vote in Colorado, namely, that the vote of the "bad women" is detrimental. Figures go to show that this vote does not amount to more than one-third of one per cent of the women's vote, so it is absurd to suggest that it counterbalances that of the other women.

Women in Official Positions. Women are eligible to all official positions. During the first fifteen years of enfranchisement nine had been elected to the House of Representatives. Other positions occupied by women are those of magistrates, sheriffs, jurymen, city treasurers, clerks, auditors, aldermen, etc., etc. To the House of Representatives of 1911 four women were elected, the largest number so far to have sat in one House. At the State election of 1910, 43 of the 62 County Superintendents of Schools were women. In all, sixty-three women were, in 1910, elected to offices of power and responsibility. At the 1912 election four women were elected to the House and one, for the first time in Colorado, to the State Senate.

Legislation. A special woman's non-party legislative committee, representative of the important women's societies, passes in review every bill and intimates to the Legislature

whether the bill is endorsed or condemned by it. The following laws passed between 1893 and 1908 may be taken as illustrative of the legislation in which women are specially interested.

"Establishing a State Industrial Home for Girls, three of the five members of the Board of Control to be women (Laws of 1897, page 68); Removing the emblems from the Australian ballot—the nearest approach to adopting an educational qualification for suffrage (Laws of 1899, pages 177-178); Establishing the indeterminate sentence for prisoners (Same, page 233); Requiring one woman physician on the board of the Insane Asylum (Same, page 259); Establishing parental or truant schools (Laws of 1891, page 364); Providing for the care of feeble-minded (Same, page 177); For tree preservation (Same, page 186); For the inspection of private eleemosynary institutions by the State Board of Charity (Laws of 1891, page 364); Requiring in the public schools lessons in the humane treatment of animals (Same, page 362); Making the Colorado Humane Society a State Bureau of Child and Animal Protection (Same, page 191); Establishing juvenile courts (Laws of 1903, page 179); Making education compulsory for all children between the ages of 8 and 16, except those who are ill or who are taught at home, and those who are over 14 who have completed the eighth grade, or whose parents need their help and support, and those children who must support themselves (Same, page 418); Making father and mother joint heirs of deceased child (Same, page 469); Providing that union high schools may be formed by uniting school districts adjacent to a town or city (Same, page 425); Establishing a State Traveling Library Commission, to consist of five women from the State Federation of Women's Clubs, appointed by the Governor (Same, page 252); Providing that any person employing a child under 14 in any mine, smelter, mill, factory or underground works shall be punished by imprisonment in addition to a fine (Same, page 310); Requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sales of household goods used by the family, or conveyance

or mortgage of a homestead (Same, chapter 75, page 153); Forbidding children of 16 and under to work more than six hours a day in any mill, factory, store, or other occupation that may be deemed unhealthful (Same, page 309); Providing "that no woman shall work more than eight hours a day at work requiring her to be on her feet (Laws of 1903, page 310); Making it a criminal offence to contribute to the delinquency of a child (Same, page 298); Making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents (Same, chapter 148, page 372); Prohibiting the killing of doves except in August (Same, chapter 112, page 232); Abolishing the binding out of girls committed to the Industrial School (Same, chapter 115, page 248)."

Women have been instrumental in securing the following laws in 1909: Providing for the examination of the eyes, ears, teeth, and breathing capacity of school children: Declaring the School for the Mute and Blind an educational institution, thus relieving them from the stigma of receiving public charity; a Factory Inspection Bill, requiring three inspectors, one of whom must be a woman; Creating a State Board of Immigration; Appropriating Five Thousand Dollars for the free distribution of diphtheria antitoxin; Creating a Home for the Feeble-Minded and making an appropriation therefor; Authorizing the donation of State lands for State charitable or philanthropic institutions; Validating the wills of married women; Making it a felony to live on the earnings of a prostitute; the Teachers' Pension Act, etc.; in the session of 1910 laws dealing with child labor; Raising the age of delinquency for girls; Compelling a man to support his wife and children; Providing teaching of the adult blind; Making non-support an extraditable offence; pure food.

In addition to the Acts of the Legislature, women were instrumental in ensuring the places of drinking fountains and garbage receptacles in the streets; forbidding of spitting in public places; enforcing child labor laws; forbidding the sale of liquor to minors and of tobacco to persons under 16.

IDAHO

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1910	185,546	140,048	325,594
Full equal suffrage and eligibility			1896
Number of women eligible			68,000
Percentage who vote			75 to 85

In 1898, 40 per cent of the total vote was cast by the women and three were elected to the Legislature, a creditable result in a State where men so greatly out-number women.

Women in Official Positions. All offices are open to women and they have been elected to the House of Representatives and to various county and city offices. In 1900 the Legislature passed a bill exempting women from jury service, but this was vetoed by the Governor, in response to a protest from the women themselves. It is not customary for women to serve, however, except in special cases.

Legislation. The following laws are among those passed since the granting of suffrage:

Law making gambling illegal (Idaho Laws of 1899, page 389); raising age of protection for girls to 18 (same, page 167); establishing libraries and reading rooms, and authorizing a tax for their maintenance (Code of 1901, Sec. 994); requiring at least 3 per cent. of school fund appropriated each year to be applied to maintain school libraries, the books to be chosen from list compiled by State Board of Education (same, Sec. 1065); establishing a State Library Commission, consisting of the President of the State University, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Secretary of State and the Attorney General (Laws of 1903; House Bill 164); providing for a department of domestic science in the State University (same, page 433; Senate Bill 110); and for a course of lectures on domestic science in the Academy of Idaho (same, page 51; House Bill 52); establishing an Industrial Reform School (same, page 12; House Bill 20); A Pure Food Act (same, page 95; House Bill 97); and giving a married woman the same right to control and dispose of her property as a married man (same, page 345; Senate Bill 35).

A series of bills prepared under the direction of the State Board of Health, to prevent the sale of impure food and drugs, to provide for sanitary conditions in all places where food products are prepared or supplied to the public, and to care for the public health in other particulars (1911). A pure seed law and other measures designed to benefit the farmers (1911).

UTAH

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1910	196,863	177,488	373,449
Equal suffrage during Territorial Days			1870-1877
Full equal suffrage and eligibility			1896
Number of women eligible			55,500
Percentage of women eligible who vote			85 to 90

Women in Official Positions. Women are eligible to all State offices. One woman was elected to the first State Senate and several have been elected to the House of Representatives. In the present house there are four women. Women have been appointed in considerable numbers as county clerks, treasurers, recorders, auditors, assessors, and county superintendents of schools.

Legislation. Since their enfranchisement Utah women have aided in securing measures providing for equal pay for equal work for teachers; raising the age of protection for young girls to 18; establishing free public libraries in cities and towns; requiring in all schools and educational institutions supported wholly or partly by public funds, systematic instruction in physiology and hygiene, including the effects of stimulants and narcotics; providing for a course of free lectures every year at the capital on sanitary science, hygiene, and nursing; providing for a curfew bell at 9 p. m. to keep children off the streets at night; making it a misdemeanor for any minor to buy, accept, or have in his possession, cigarettes, tobacco, opium, or any other narcotic; providing for the protection of dependent, neglected, or ill-treated children, and for the punishment of the persons responsible; requiring the establishment of kindergartens in towns of a specified size; prohibiting traffic in women; prohibiting the employment of children in certain industries; prohibiting the employment of women more than nine hours a day or fifty-four hours a week; providing for medical examination of school children; authorizing boards of health to take certain steps to protect the public against venereal disease; providing for sanitary inspection of slaughter houses and other places where foodstuffs are prepared; forcing wife-deserters to pay a certain sum for the support of their families; giving local option on the liquor question. Women have practically the same rights over their independent property as men.

In 1911, the following laws were passed: Prevent traffic in women; prohibiting the employment of any child under 14 years of age in any occupation dangerous to physical or moral welfare.

CALIFORNIA

	Male	Female	Total
Population, 1910	1,322,978	1,054,571	2,377,549
Full equal suffrage and eligibility			October 10th, 1911
Number of women eligible			670,967
Percentage of women eligible who vote			75 to 80

Number of Women Voting. In California, there are 125.5 men to every 100 women, and figures must be regarded in that light. In the municipal election in Los Angeles, 1911, 83,284 women registered in less than a month's time. One woman's club registered over 17,000 women in less than ten days. Ninety-five per cent of the registered women voted. In Sacramento at the presidential primary, a trifle over 40 per cent of registered women voted.

Report of Berkeley, California, City Election, April 26, 1913

Total registration	18,597
Men registered	9,936—53%
Women registered	8,661—46%
Total vote	8,576
Men voted	4,874—56%
Women voted	3,702—43%
Percentage of registered men voting	49%
Percentage of registered women voting	42.7%
Percentage of total registration voting	46%

In 16 out of 32 precincts of the city practically 50 per cent. or more of the registered persons are women.

In 8 precincts, one quarter of the city, women cast 50 per cent. or more of the vote.

The larger women's vote was cast in precincts where the prosperous professional and business people reside.

The smaller woman's vote was cast in the manufacturing and laboring section, notably along the water front.

The average woman's vote was cast in the precincts where persons of modest means, clerks and mechanics, live.

According to the "California Outlook" the total registration in Los Angeles, qualified for the municipal election, was 171,025. The number of men registered was 97,186, or 56.9 per cent. of the total. The registration of the women footed up to 73,839, or 43.1 per cent. of the total.

The total vote was 89,831—only 52.5 per cent. of the registration.

The vote by men was 52,731.

The vote by women was 37,100.

The percentage of registered men voting was 54.2.

The percentage of registered women voting was 50.2.

The percentage of total vote cast by men was 58.7.

The percentage of the total vote cast by women was 41.3.

Legislation. The California Legislature (1913) was the first to meet since women have had the ballot. It is said to have made a finer record in the way of advanced legislation desired by women than the Legislatures of the past 25 years put together. Here is a list of its main achievements:

The Mothers' Pension Law, granting aid to needy parents in order to keep the children at home rather than have them committed to institutions.

The Health Certificate Law, requiring a certificate of freedom from venereal diseases of all men before obtaining marriage licenses.

The Minimum Wage Law, creating a commission to investigate the conditions of industry of women and children, with power to invoke a minimum wage in industries paying less than a living wage.

The Red Light Abatement and Injunction Law, placing the responsibility of disorderly houses upon the owners and lessees rather than upon the inmates, and forbidding such houses.

The Joint Guardianship Law, giving mothers equal rights over their minor children.

The Juvenile Court Law, separating dependent from delinquent children.

The extension of the Eight-hour Law for Women to include workers in apartment houses and nurses in training.

The Age of Consent Law, raising the age from 16 to 18.

The State Training School for Girls, providing a separate institution for girls, with the most approved correctional methods and thorough vocational training.

The Teachers' Pension Law, granting pensions of $500 a year to all teachers who have been in service 30 years.

The Net Container Law, specifying that packages shall show the amount of net contents.

The Weights and Measures Law, providing for a complete standard of weights and measures and regular inspection of dealers.

The Roberts bill, forbidding the destruction of any foodstuff fit for human consumption. (All New York housekeepers groaned when they read of cargoes of fish being deliberately destroyed in order to keep the price up.)

The State Civil Service Law, bringing practically all State employees under the merit service.

The creation of a State Housing and Immigration Commission to prepare for the coming of immigrants with the opening of the Panama Canal.

Prison Reform; all sentences except for murder are made indeterminate; straitjackets and cold showers are prohibited, and arrangements are made for the payment of wages to State's prison convicts and for assistance to discharged prisoners.

The Milk Inspection Law, providing for strict regulation of dairies.

The White Slave Law, prohibiting traffic in women between counties.

The Tuberculosis Law, providing for the reporting of all such cases.

Amendment to the liquor laws, forbidding the sale of liquor between 2 and 6 a. m.

The creation of a commission to investigate the question of old-age pensions.

The Workman's Compensation Law, requiring compulsory compensation for injuries, and establishing a system of State industrial insurance.

The Water Conservation Law, establishing a Water Commission with authority over all water in the State. Conservation is a subject in which the women of California have taken keen interest.

The Psychopathic Parole Law, providing for the parole of persons mentally abnormal but not dangerously insane, under the custody of psychopathic parole officers.

The Bill Board Law, limiting billboards to ten feet in height and prohibiting spite fences of more than that height.

The Bastardy Law, requiring fathers to help support illegitimate children.

A law providing for the sterilization of inmates of insane asylums and certain convicts.

The creation of mosquito control districts.

The requirement of the wife's signature to legalize the assignment of a man's wages.

The amendment to the Child Labor Law raising the age limit of child workers from twelve to fifteen.

Mrs. Seward A. Simons says in *The Woman's Bulletin of Los Angeles:* "This record shows in the most concrete form possible why women need the ballot and how they use their power for the conservation of humanity and the preservation of the home."

WASHINGTON

	Male	Female	Total
Population, 1910	658,663	483,327	1,141,990
Suffrage exercised by women for the Territorial legislature			1883-1887
School suffrage granted to women			1890
Full equal suffrage and eligibility			1910
Number of women eligible			170,000
Percentage eligible who vote			85 to 95

Women in Official Positions. Women are serving as members of the Legislature, state superintendent of schools, presidential elector, and in minor offices.

Legislation. The following laws (1911 Legislature) have been largely due to the women voters:

An eight hour bill for working women, excepting those employed in fruit and fish canneries; providing for the recall of state officers; restoration of supreme judgeships to direct primaries; an employers' liability bill, providing for the compensation of injured workmen or their dependents. This abolishes the doctrine of "contributory negligence" and takes the matter of compensation out of the jurisdiction of the courts; providing for the commission plan of government for cities of from 2,500 to 20,000; the women's protests brought about the defeat of a bill legalizing prize fights.

KANSAS

	Male	Female	Total
Population, 1910	885,912	805,037	1,690,949

Limited school suffrage and eligibility for women 1861
Town Council and Town School Board suffrage and eligibility for women with the right to vote on the issue of bonds for school purposes 1887
Bond suffrage for women 1903
Full equal suffrage and eligibility for women Nov. 5th, 1912
Number of women eligible, about 400,000

Votes at Municipal Elections in Kansas

Place.	1887.		1901.		1911.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
253 cities	76,629	28,587				
Kansas	3,956	1,042	8,900	4,582		
Topeka	4,580	1,049	7,338	5,335	9,538	6,105
Fort Scott	1,273	425	1,969	1,270		
Leavenworth ...	3,967	2,467	5,590	3,108		
Wichita	3,312	2,964				

Of the above returns those for the 253 cities were made up from official returns. Those of 1911 are official.

Women in Official Positions. Fifty women have been

aldermen, five police judges, one city attorney. In 1896, a return from half the counties showed that twenty women were county superintendents of schools and 554 were serving on school boards. By 1900, about twenty-five women had been elected mayors of smaller towns; in several cases the whole board of aldermen were women. In 1910 forty-nine women were county superintendents of schools.

ARIZONA

	Male	Female	Total
Population, 1910	118,574	85,780	204,354

School Board suffrage and eligibility for women 1885
Full equal suffrage and eligibility November 5th, 1912
Number of women eligible to vote, about 50,000

OREGON

	Male	Female	Total
Population, 1910	384,265	288,500	672,765

Woman suffrage for School Trustees and School Taxes 1878
Suffrage and eligibility to School Boards for women 1898
Full equal suffrage and eligibility Nov. 5th, 1912
Number of women eligible to vote, about 180,000

Legislation. In 1913, the minimum wage bill, the widows' pension bill, and the teacher's civil service bill was passed.

ALASKA TERRITORY

Population, 1910 64,356
Full equal suffrage 1913
Number of women eligible to vote 4,000

FACTS CONCERNING THE STATE HAVING LIMITED SUFFRAGE

ILLINOIS

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1910	2,911,674	2,726,917	5,638,591

School eligibility	1873
Limited school suffrage	1891
Limited elective franchise	1913
Number of women eligible to vote, about	1,125,000

*THE BILL GRANTING LIMITED SUFFRAGE TO THE WOMEN OF ILLINOIS

48th G. A.—Senate Bill No. 63—1913

A BILL

For an Act granting women the right to vote for presidential electors and certain other officers, and to participate and vote in certain matters and elections.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That all women, citizens of the United States, above the age of 21 years, having resided in the State one year, in the county ninety days, and in the election district thirty days next preceding any election therein, shall be allowed to vote at such election for Presidential Electors, member of the State Board of Equalization, Clerk of the Appellate Court, County Collector, County Surveyor, members of Board of Assessors, members of Board of Review, Sanitary District Trustees, and for all officers of cities, villages and towns (except police magistrates), and upon all questions or propositions sub-

* Bill was introduced February 11, 1913, passed June 11, 1913, and became a law July 1, 1913.

mitted to a vote of the electors of such municipalities or other political divisions of this State.

Sec. 2. All such women may also vote for the following township officers: Supervisors, Town Clerk, Assessor, Collector and Highway Commissioner, and may also participate and vote in all annual and special town meetings in the township in which such election district shall be.

Sec. 3. Separate ballot boxes and ballots shall be provided for women which ballots shall contain the names of the candidates for such offices which are to be voted for and the special questions submitted as aforesaid, and the ballots cast by women shall be canvassed with the other ballots cast for such officers and on such questions. At any such election where registration is required, women shall register in the same manner as male voters.

LIST OF CHIEF OFFICES FOR WHICH WOMEN IN ILLINOIS MAY AND MAY NOT VOTE

May vote for these (created by statute): National—Presidential electors. State—University trustees. County—Collector, surveyor, members board of assessors, members board of review, sanitary district trustees. Cities—Mayor, aldermen, city clerk, city treasurer, city attorney. Villages—President village board, members board of trustees, village clerk, village treasurer. Townships—Supervisor, town clerk, highway commissioner, assessors, collectors. Bonds and Little Ballot—On all propositions or questions submitted to vote to electors of municipalities or other political division.

May not vote for these (created by Constitution): United States Senate, members of Congress, members of Legislature, governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of State, State auditor of public accounts, State treasurer, superintendent of public instruction, attorney general, judges of Supreme, Appellate, Circuit, Superior, Probate and Criminal Courts and clerks of these courts; justices of the peace and police mag-

istrates, constables, State's attorney, county commissioners, county judge, county clerk, sheriff, county treasurer, coroner, recorder of deeds.

CANADA

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1911	3,821,050	3,383,742	7,204,772

Municipal suffrage granted to women in—

Ontario	1884	British Columbia	1888
New Brunswick	1886	Prince Edward Island	1888
Nova Scotia	1887	Quebec	1892
Manitoba	1888		

Women have School Suffrage wherever it exists throughout Canada, and have eligibility except in Quebec.

School suffrage granted to women:

British Columbia	1891	Prince Edward Island	1899

School eligibility granted:

British Columbia	1891	Nova Scotia	1895
New Brunswick (compulsory in 1896)	1893	Prince Edward Island	1899

County Council suffrage for women in New Brunswick since 1886

BRITISH HONDURAS

	Males	Females	Total
Population	29,374	20,084	40,458

Municipal suffrage for women in capital town of Belize 1911

Photograph by Underwood & Underwood

THE GREAT PARADE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 3, 1913

Over 20,000 women participated. One of the most effective demonstrations for equal suffrage ever held

EUROPE

SCANDINAVIA

FINLAND

Population according to the last census (1909), 3,059,324. Men, 1,520,810; Women, 1,538,514.

Communal franchise (rural), without eligibility for women 1863

Communal franchise (urban), without eligibility for women 1872

Political franchise and eligibility for women 1907

Year.	Number of Those Qualified to Vote. Men.	Women.	Number of Votes Recorded. Men.	Women.	Percentage of Votes Recorded. Men.	Women.
1907	606,802	666,071	No figures recorded.			
1908	604,315	664,862	416,373	401,194	68.9	60.3
1909	623,202	681,888	439,347	412,780	70.5	60.5
1910	631,615	693,316	409,886	386,683	64.9	55.8
1911	642,811	707,247	419,491	387,603	65.3	54.8

Bills and Petitions Introduced by Women Deputies Relating to	Number of Bills and Petitions Brought Into the Provincial Diet in the Years 1907.	1908 I.	1908 II.	1909	1910.	1911.	1907-11.
Rights of Women..	8	11	12	9	6	5	51
Welfare of Children	10	8	7	5	1	2	33
Social, Church and Economic Quest's	4	16	18	15	13	14	20
Supreme Court.....				1	1	1	3
Total 22		35	37	30	21	22	167

NORWAY

Population, 2,391,782. Men, 1,155,773; Women, 1,236,009.

School vote and eligibility granted to women 1889

Communal vote and eligibility granted to women 1901

Vote and eligibility for the legislation granted to women 1907

Full suffrage **1913**

SWEDEN

Population, 5,521,943. Men, 2,698,975; Women, 2,822,968.

Communal franchise without eligibility for unmarried women	1862
School Board franchise for women	1862
Ecclesiastical franchise for women	1862
School Board and Poor Law Relief Committee eligibility for women	1889
Eligibility of Women to Communal and Church Councils	1909

DENMARK

Population, 2,757,076. Men, 1,337,900; Women, 1,419,176.

Poor Law Boards franchise and eligibility for women	1907
Communal Franchise and Eligibility for women	1908

ICELAND

Population, 85,188. Men, 41,083; Women, 44,105.

Communal and ecclesiastical franchise for unmarried women	1882
Communal and ecclesiastical franchise and eligibility for women (married or unmarried) in Reykjavik and Hafnarfjördur	1908
Franchise and eligibility for all local bodies for women (married or unmarried)	1909

ISLE OF MAN

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1911	23,953	28,081	52,034

This small island lying equidistant from England, Scotland and Ireland has a legislative body of its own, the House of Keys, for which the right to vote was granted to women owners in 1881 and extended to women ratepayers in 1892.

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1911	22,012,872	23,352,727	45,365,599

England and Wales

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1911	17,448,476	18,626,793	36,075,269

Poor Law Guardians to be elected by ratepayers 1834

Municipal suffrage, but not eligibility, provided for qualified women. Municipal Corporation Elections Act (32 and 33 Vic. c. 55) 1869

School Board suffrage and eligibility for qualified unmarried women for the new established School Boards. The Education Act, 1870 (33 and 34 Vict. c. 75.). Right to sit as elected members taken away in 1902 when the duties of School Boards were handed over to the County Councils, to which women could not be elected. Education Act, 1902 1870

Woman elected as a **Poor Law Guardian** for the first time 1875

County Council suffrage (including that for **the London County Council**) but not eligibility, provided for qualified unmarried women in the Act establishing these bodies (51 and 52 Vic. c. 41) 1888

Urban and Rural District Council suffrage and eligibility for qualified women, married or unmarried, by the Act establishing these bodies. The Act further removes the disability of married women to vote for Poor Law Guardians, deprives women of the right to vote as owners and provides that, in addition to the electors, residents shall also be eligible for election (56 and 57 Vict. c. 73) 1894

London Borough Councils substituted for London Vestries and women lose their right to sit but not their right to vote by the London Government Act, 1899 — 1899

London County Council suffrage disability of married women removed by the London County Council Electors Act (63 and 64 Vict. c. 29) — 1900

Town Council, County Council (including the London County Council) and London Borough Council eligibility conferred on women by the Qualification of Women Act, 1907 (7 Ed. VII. c. 33) — 1907

Scotland

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1911	2,307,605	2,451,842	4,759,445

School Board suffrage and eligibility provided for qualified women for these newly established bodies by the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 (35 and 36 Vict. c. 62) — 1872

Town Council suffrage, but not eligibility, provided for qualified unmarried women by the Municipal Electors (Scotland) Act, 1881 — 1881

County Council suffrage, but not eligibility, provided for qualified unmarried women, when these bodies were established by the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889 (52 and 53 Vic. c. 50) — 1889

Parish Council suffrage and eligibility provided for qualified women, married or unmarried, when these bodies were established in place of the old Parochial Boards by the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894 (57 and 58 Vic. c. 58). These bodies act as Poor Law Guardians and correspond to the Boards of Guardians and District Councils of England, Wales and Ireland — 1894

Town Council suffrage disability of married women removed by the Town Council (Scotland) Act, 1900 (63 Vic. c. 49) 1900

Town and County Council eligibility provided for qualified women, married or unmarried, by the Local Government (Scotland) Acts, 1907 (7 Ed. VII. c. 4 and c. 48) 1907

Ireland

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1911	2,186,804	2,195,147	4,381,951

Poor Law Guardians to be elected by ratepayers by the Poor Law Guardian (Ireland) Act (1 and 2 Vic. c. 56) 1837

Belfast Town Council suffrage granted to qualified women by a local Act 1887

Town Council suffrage granted to qualified women to the Councils of Blackrock and Kingston by local Acts 1894

Poor Law Guardian suffrage and eligibility provided for qualified unmarried women (59 and 60 Vic. c. 5) 1896

County Councils, Town Councils and District (both Urban and Rural) Councils established; **suffrage** for qualified women, married or unmarried, provided for these Councils and for Boards of Guardians; eligibility for men or women, who are electors or residents, provided for the District Councils but women not made eligible for election to Town or County Councils. Registration (Ireland) Act, 1898, Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, and Adaptation Order, December 22nd, 1898 1898

Town Council and County Council eligibility for qualified women, married or unmarried, provided by the Local Authorities (Ireland) Qualification of Women Act, 1911 1911

OTHER GERMANIC COUNTRIES

GERMAN EMPIRE

Population (according to the census of 1910), 64,903,423. Men, 32,031,967; Women, 32,871,456.

Communal Franchise. In several German States women are allowed a very restricted vote for the representation of rural communes. As a rule they can only vote by proxy. In 1912, a ruling was made whereby married women under certain circumstances are allowed to vote. No eligibility.

AUSTRIA

Population, 28,571,934. Men, 14,034,022; Women, 14,537,912.

Suffrage for Provincial Diet to tax-paying women, who are large landed proprietors. As a rule they vote by proxy.

Very limited communal vote in some provinces. No communal eligibility.

BOHEMIA

Population, 6,769,548. Men, 3,307,633; Women, 3,461,855.

The franchise and eligibility for women for the Provincial Diet 1861

Communal franchise for women except in Prague in Reinchenberg 1864

NETHERLANDS

Population, 5,945,155. Men, 2,944,079; Women, 3,001,076.

Communal franchise. The women of Holland are at present as totally excluded from any share in local government as they are from the political franchise.

SWITZERLAND

Population, 1910, 3,741,971.

Women do not possess any electoral rights either in the Commune or in the State.

THE LATIN COUNTRIES

FRANCE

Population, 1911 36,601,509

Votes and Eligibility. French women are still excluded from all forms of political election. They, however, have some voting rights, and, in certain cases, are eligible for election.

They have forms of suffrage in education, employment, Council of Experts, Commerce, Church and Mutual Insurance. They are eligible for appointment to the Poor Law Relief Councils, School Committees, and Charity Committees.

BELGIUM

Population, 1910 (estimated December 31st, 1910) 6,693,584

Votes and Eligibility. Belgian women have no suffrage rights, except for the Councils of Experts (Conseils Des Prud'Hommes), for which they gained the vote and eligibility in 1909.

The Political Vote. The Communal Vote, which women had when Belgium and Holland were united, was taken from them when these countries separated.

ITALY

Population, 1911 34,687,000

Franchise. Italian women acquired the right to vote for Councils of Experts (Consiels de Prudhommes) in 1907, and for Councils of the Chambers of Commerce, in 1912.

Eligibility. Women have been eligible to Poor Law Relief Committees (Commissions d'Assistance), since 1890; to Commercial Courts (Tribinaux de Commerce), since 1893; and to School Committees, since 1907.

SPAIN

Population, 1910 19,588,688

No women suffrage movement has yet arisen in Spain, not that the women take no interest in social questions, but because the majority of Spanish women who do take part in politics are free-thinkers. They wish first of all to oppose clericalism and to establish secular education.

PORTUGAL

Population, 5,975,000.

The suffrage movement in Portugal is closely connected with the political situation in that country. The woman's movement was in its infancy when the leaders of the Republican Party made an appeal to the women to come to their help in overthrowing the monarchy. The Republican League of Portuguese Women was founded, and was recognized as a political organization. This league played an important part in the establishing of the republic. The reward for their work was to be the political franchise. It caused both surprise and disappointment when the Franchise Bill brought in in 1911 excluded the women. Last year the senate adopted a bill conferring suffrage on all women over 25 on an educational basis, but this has not been acted upon by the lower house.

THE SLAVONIC COUNTRIES

RUSSIA

	Total	European
Population, 1910	163,778,800	118,690,600

Municipal and Administrative Vote. Women do not themselves vote either for the Municipal Councils or for the Provincial Councils (zemstvo), but those who pay the land tax according to the conditions applicable in each province have, since 1866, had the right to vote by proxy through their husbands, brothers, sons, grandsons, or sons-in-law.

In the elections of the nobility a woman of the nobility may appoint as her proxy a man of the nobility of the same district.

For the management of schools there are several bodies.

1. School Boards have admitted women on the same terms as men as managers since 1874. Both men and women managers have the right to vote on questions concerning their school.

2. Committees set up by social, municipal or provincial (zemstvo) organizations have the power to consult experts of either sex and are as follows:

(a) Preparatory Committees in which both men and women have the same right of voting.

(b) Executive Committees on which only the members (municipal or provincial) take part.

(c) Medical Committees of the province (zemstvo) on which women doctors have the same rights as men. This is true also of the towns, but there are very few municipal medical committees.

Public Poor Relief Committees do not exist. There are, however, private philanthropic bodies, whose object is to help the poor, and whose members, men and women, have the same rights.

Women have no votes for members of the Committees which impose the taxes.

Political Vote. For the legislature (Douma Imperiale) women may not vote in person but may appoint as their proxies to vote for them their husbands, brothers, sons, grandsons, or sons-in-law.

BULGARIA

Population, 1910 4,329,108

Eligibility. In 1908, Bulgarian women were made eligible for appointment to School Councils, the bodies which appoint both the men and the women teachers of the primary schools. This is the one victory in Bulgaria.

Suffrage Propaganda. Several different feminist societies, founded after 1889, combined in 1900, to form the Union of Bulgarian women, which became an auxiliary of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1908. At a Congress held in 1908 it decided to work for the municipal franchise and instructed its Executive to organize a campaign.

SERVIA

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1910	1,503,511	1,408,190	2,911,701

Woman Suffrage has been discussed in Servia for many years. In 1902, the Senate voted in favor of a bill conferring votes on women, but the tragic events immediately following prevented the ultimate adoption of the reform. It was not until 1909 that an Association for Woman Suffrage was founded. Its activities have been compulsorily in abeyance for several months (1913). The political parties seem to be all in favor of votes for women.

OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

HUNGARY

Population, 20,886,487. Men, 10,345,333; Women, 10,541,154.

Communal Franchise. In Hungary a woman who is of age, unmarried, a widow, or legally separated from her husband, possesses the active, indirect communal franchise on a property basis. That is to say she can vote, but not in person, only by means of a male proxy.

ROUMANIA

Estimated Population, 1910 6,966,000

Administrative Committees. Women have voted for School Committees since 1891, but possess no other electoral right.

Poor Relief is not nationally organized, but women play an important part in the administration of private charities for the relief of the poor.

Political Vote. The question of woman suffrage has hardly arisen in Roumania. The Socialist Party, which stands for adult suffrage, is the only one which recognizes the principle of the political equality of the sexes.

TURKEY—GREECE—MONTENEGRO

Population:

Turkey in Europe (mainland only)	6,130,200
Greece (1907)	2,631,952
Montenegro	250,000

Turkish women have no voting rights.

It has not been possible to get any definite information regarding Greece and Montenegro.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

NEW ZEALAND

Population, 1911

	Males	Females	Total
1. **Excluding Maories**	531,910	476,558	1,008,468
2. **Maories**	28,475	23,369	49,844

School Board suffrage and eligibility granted to women 1877

Municipal suffrage and eligibility granted to women ratepayers 1886

Municipal suffrage and eligibility extended to the wives and husbands of ratepayers 1899

Parliamentary suffrage, but not eligibility, granted to women by the Electoral Act, 1893 1893

Number of women qualified to vote and voting.—Number of women qualified to vote is almost as great as the men. (See table, page 1842.)

GENERAL ELECTIONS TO THE NEW ZEALAND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVES).

TABLE COMPILED FROM THE NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR-BOOK, 1911.

	Number on Electoral Rolls.			Percentage of Adults Registered as Electors.		Number who Voted.			Percentage on Rolls Voting.		
	Males.	Fem.	Total.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Total.	Males.	Fem.	Total.
1893	193,536	109,461	302,997	†	78.48	129,792	90,290	220,082	66.61*	85.18*	75.25*
1896	196,925	142,305	339,230	99.96	89.13	149,471	108,783	258,254	75.90	76.44	76.13
1899	210,529	163,215	373,744	98.02	95.24	159,780	119,550	279,330	79.06*	75.70*	77.59*
1902	229,845	185,944	415,789	98.39	94.97	180,294‡	138,565‡	318,859‡	78.44	74.52	76.69
1905	263,597	212,876	476,473	96.49	93.80	221,611‡	175,046‡	366,657‡	84.07	82.23	83.25
1908	294,073	242,930	537,003	99.54	99.76	238,534‡	190,114‡	428,648‡	81.11	78.26	79.82
1911§	321,000	269,009	590,009			271,054	221,858	492,912	84.43	82.47	83.54

* Excluding figures for three electorates in which there was no contest.

† The number on the rolls exceeded the estimated adult male population at the time of the election.

‡ Including informal votes.

§ 1911 figures supplied by Mrs. Sheppard of New Zealand.

NOTE.—At the general election of 1879, 53% of the men registered as electors voted; in 1881, 55%; in 1884, 54%; in 1887, 63%; and in 1890, 74%.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

	Males	Females	Total
Population, April 3, 1911	2,313,035	2,141,970	4,455,005

Women granted suffrage and eligibility both for the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Federal Commonwealth Parliament, on the same terms as men 1902

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

	Males	Females	Total
Population, April 3, 1911	207,358	201,200	408,558

Municipal suffrage, but not eligibility, granted to women 1880

School Boards of advice are elected by the parents of children at school, one vote being given to each household, which may be cast by either the father or mother 1892

Destitute Boards are nominated bodies, on which women have been placed since 1897

The franchise and eligibility for the South Australian Legislative Assembly and the franchise but not eligibility for the Legislative Council granted to women on the same terms as to men by the Constitutional Amendment Act 1894

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

	Males	Females	Total
Population, April 3, 1911	161,565	120,549	282,114

Municipal franchise granted to women, but not eligibility 1871

The franchise but not eligibility for the Western Australian Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly granted to women on the same terms as to men 1899

NEW SOUTH WALES

	Males	Females	Total
Population, April 3, 1911	857,698	789,036	1,646,734

Municipal suffrage but not eligibility granted to women 1867

Suffrage for the New South Wales Legislative Assembly granted to women on the same terms as to men by the Women's Franchise Act, 1902, but not eligibility 1902

The **Legislative Council** is nominated, not elected.

The Local Government Shires Act, 1905, establishes Shire Councils with **votes and eligibility** for both men and women 1905

The Local Government Act, 1906 (a consolidating Act), provides that women as well as men shall be eligible to vote for Shire and Town Councils. Males only are made eligible to be elected, so apparently women lost their right of eligibility to Shire Councils acquired in 1905. Husband and wife may not vote in respect of the same property 1906

TASMANIA

	Males	Females	Total
Population, April 3, 1911	97,591	93,620	191,211

Women granted the vote but not eligibility to Municipal Councils 1884

The franchise but not eligibility granted to women for the Tasmanian **Legislative Council** and **Legislative Assembly** on the same terms as men by the Constitution Act, 1903 1903

QUEENSLAND

	Males	Females	Total
Population, April 3, 1911	329,506	276,307	605,813

Municipal franchise but not eligibility for women established 1886

The franchise but not eligibility for the Queensland **Legislative Assembly** granted to women by the Elections Act, 1905 1905

The members of the **Legislative Council** are nominated for life.

VICTORIA

	Males	Females	Total
Population, April 3, 1911	655,591	659,960	1,315,551

Women granted the franchise but not eligibility for Municipal Councils, Boroughs Statute Act, 1869 1869

Franchise but not eligibility granted to women for the Victorian **Legislative Council** and **Legislative Assembly** by the Adult Suffrage Act, 1908 1908

ASIA

BURMAH

Population, 1911 12,115,217

Municipal suffrage, but not eligibility for women 1884

INDIA

Population 244,267,901

Mrs. Catt reports that a considerable number of Parsee, Hindu, and Mohammedan women have voted in Bombay in respect to the Municipal Council.

JAVA

Population, 1910 30,098,008

Women landowners have some municipal suffrage.

CHINA

Population 433,533,030

The women of Canton Province have voted for their Provisional Assembly, but not those of any other province.

AFRICA

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

	Males	Females	Total
Population, 1911	3,069,610	2,888,889	5,958,499

Transvaal

The Volksrad gave votes to burghers' wives 1854

Women granted **votes,** but excluded from eligibility, for **Town Councils** on the same terms as men, viz., that they are white British subjects owning rateable property of assessed value of £100 or occupying rateable property of the assessed value of £24 (Municipal Elections Ordinance No. 38, 1903). Husband and wife may not be enrolled in respect of the same property. 1903

White women granted **eligibility** but not the vote for **School Boards,** if residents (Act 25 of 1907) 1907

Cape Colony

Women granted the **vote for Town Councils** on the same terms as men, viz., one vote to the owner or occupier of property of the annual value of £10, two votes if the property is over £100. 1882

Women granted the **vote for School Boards,** in towns on the same basis as the municipal vote; in the country on a property qualification, with a provision that women ratepayers vote if they occupy as well as own their house. **Eligibility** also granted. 1906

Natal

Women granted **eligibility** to sit on **School Boards,** and to vote as proxies for absent male parent. The electors are parents of children attending the Government School. 1910

Orange River Colony

Resident Householders are qualified to vote for, and resident voters owning immovable property of £200 or occupying such property of £600 are qualified to be elected to Municipal Councils (Municipal Corporations Act, No. 6, 1904). 1904

Parents of children attending a Public School are qualified to vote for and white persons resident within the School district are eligible to be elected to School Management Committees (Education Act, 35 of 1908). 1908

Numbers eligible to vote for Town Councils. As the qualification as voters is in every case based on property the number of women relatively to men is small. Pretoria may be taken as a typical case. There the number of women on the municipal voters' roll for 1911 was 540 out of a total of 6,012 or something less than 10 per cent. No figures are available of the number of those who voted.

SUMMARY

In summing up the rights already gained in connection with parliamentary and municipal elections leaving out of account the extremely limited franchises enjoyed by women in Russia, the German Empire, Austria and Bohemia, the franchises of the women of Java and of the Isle of Man, the following results are reached.

The lead is being given by the English-speaking and the Scandinavian countries. The right to vote for members of

town councils has been gained by women in 39 States or Countries (11 during the present century) of which 32 are English-speaking, 5 Scandinavian and 2 Asiatic: the right to be elected to town councils by 18 (13 during the present century), of which 14 are English-speaking and 4 Scandinavian: the right to vote for members of Parliament (the legislature) in 19 States or Countries (12 during the present century) of which 17 are English-speaking and 2 Scandinavian: the right to be elected to the Parliament or Legislature in 13 (8 during the present century), of which 13 are English-speaking and 2 Scandinavian. In the United States the rights to vote and sit in connection with the local State Legislature carry with them the corresponding rights with respect to the federal legislature. In Australia women have gained the right to vote for and eligibility to be elected to the Federal Parliament in addition to the rights they have gained for the separate State Parliaments.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS AND FIGURES CONCERNING EQUAL SUFFRAGE

Disenfranchised Classes in the United States

1. Unnaturalized men.
2. Men who cannot read English in Massachusetts.
3. Untaxed Indians.
4. Duellists.
5. Fraudulent voters.
6. Negroes in some southern States.
7. Convicts.
8. Idiots.
9. Women.

Organized Demand for Suffrage

In 1894 600,000 men and women petitioned New York Constitutional Convention for woman suffrage.

There is a larger organized demand for Woman Suffrage than for any other one social reform, whereas the organized opposition—aside from that of the vicious interests—is practically negligible. There are now in this country more than 1,500 suffrage organizations, in some of which the registered membership runs as high as 50,000. In the National American Woman Suffrage Association there are forty-five branches organized in thirty-eight states and having approximately 47,000 dues-paying members and 171,000 registered members. There are nine periodicals devoted exclusively to suffrage propaganda. In 1912 the National American Woman Suffrage Association circulated some three million pieces of literature.

Equal suffrage has a large and widespread body of organized support outside the suffrage movement. Approximately 600 organizations, other than suffrage associations—state, national and international—aggregating approximately 50,000,000 members, have voted to give the full weight of their official support to securing the enfranchisement of women. Among these are the International Congress of Women, the World's W. C. T. U., the National Grange, the American Federation of Labor, the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Educational Association and many of the State Federations of women's clubs.

Number of Men Who Vote

Large numbers of men are utterly indifferent to their rights as voters. In the presidential election of 1908 the total vote cast was only 14,888,442, while the number of men eligible to vote was fully 22,000,000. The popular vote for president in 1912 was 15,941,658, or about one in six of the population. In 1910, there were 26,999,151 males of voting age, 21 years of age and over, including 6,829,581 of foreign birth, naturalized and unnaturalized. In most states in the union only about 60 to 65 per cent of the men vote.

Number of Women of Voting Age in Suffrage States in United States, Census 1910

Arizona	43,891	Oregon	168,323
California	671,386	Utah	85,729
Colorado	213,425	Washington	277,727
Idaho	69,818	Wyoming	28,840
Kansas	438,934	Alaska	11,087

Qualifications based upon naturalization, education, length of residence, etc., not considered in these figures.

WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

Occupations in the United States, Census 1910

Class of Occupations	Male	Female	Total
Agricultural Pursuits	9,404,429	977,336	10,381,765
Professional Service	827,941	430,597	1,258,538
Domestic and Personal Service	3,485,208	2,095,449	5,580,657
Trade and Transportation	4,263,617	503,347	4,766,964
Manufacturing and Mechanical Pursuits	5,772,641	1,312,668	7,085,309
Total employed	23,753,836	5,319,397	29,073,233

Women in United States, Census 1910

Women Teachers and Professors	327,625
Women Physicians and Surgeons	7,399
Women Trade and Transportation	481,158
Women Agricultural Pursuits	770,055
Women Clerks, Accountants, Stenographers	239,077
Women Clergymen	7,395
Women Lawyers	1,010
Women Journalists	2,193
Women Architects, Designers, Draftsmen	1,037
Women in Professions	429,497

The four states that have laws defining a closing hour for women who labor are Massachusetts, New York, Indiana, Nebraska. Law has never been tested in any court of last resort, State or Federal.

Twenty-six States place some limit upon the working day. Twenty-two have no closing hour. California, Washington, and Colorado have eight-hour days.

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